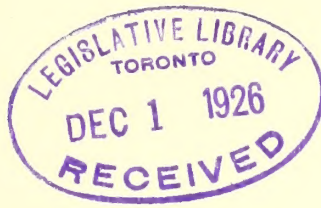


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VIEW AT NICHOLS ANCIENT LODGE CIRCLES.

From a Photograph by D. I. Bushnell, Jr.

"The vanguard of the Ojibways fell on the Dakotas at Cormorant Point early in the morning, and such was the extent of the war party, that before the rear had arrived, the battle at this point had already ended by the almost total extermination of its inhabitants; a small remnant only, retired in their canoes to the greater village located at the entry. This, the Ojibways attacked with all their forces; after a brave defense with their bows and barbed arrows, the Dakotas took refuge in their earthen lodges from the more deadly weapons of their enemy."—WILLIAM W. WARREN.

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MEMOIRS
OF
EXPLORATIONS IN THE BASIN OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

VOLUME III.

MILLE LAC.

BY
J. V. BROWER,
AUTHOR OF *Harahey*, ETC.
AND
D. I. BUSHNELL, JR.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, U. S. A.

1900.





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H. L. COLLINS COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
ART ENGRAVING COMPANY, MARR & RENZ, ENGRAVERS.
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

FIRST EDITION.

THREE HUNDRED NUMBERED AUTOGRAPH COPIES.

NUMBER 230.

"They have yellow waire that they make with copper, made like a starr or a half moone & there hang it." —PETER ESPRIT RADISSON, 1660.

"A little wild rice and smoked fish roes to eat five or six times week which they boiled in water in earthen pots. * * * When they wish to make a platter, bowl or spoons they trim the wood with their stone hatchets."

—LOUIS HENNEPIN, 1680.

"They always bring the bones of their dead to this place."

—JONATHAN CARVER, 1767.

"In the middle of the picture, a mound, of a conical form, of ten feet high, which was erected over the body of a distinguished young man who was killed, * * *, and his sad fate was related to me by a Sioux chief who was father of the young man."

—GEORGE CATLIN, 1835.

"October 5th [1805]. Passed several old Sioux encampments [Wright County, Minnesota], all fortified."

—Z. M. PIKE.

"They built a high embankment of earth, for defense, around their lodges."

—WILLIAM W. WARREN, 1852.

"At what time they fixed their residence upon the headwaters of the Mississippi and Lake Superior, the month—the year—the century—human being of the present day cannot tell."

JOHN W. LYND, 1862.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, October 1, 1900.

TO HONORABLE ALEXANDER RAMSEY, PRESIDENT, AND THE OFFICERS,
COUNCILORS AND MEMBERS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN:

This unpretentious *Memoir*, prepared as one of the results of a continued study of the antiquities of the Northwest, is addressed to the members of this Historical Society as the expression of an intensified purpose, developed while pursuing a course of investigation beset with uncertainties and difficulties, intended to advance the best interests of the Society in its duty to a supporting constituency wherein the largest number, with the most unselfish thought, seek to enhance a knowledge of earlier events occurring in the region now constituting in part this great commonwealth, by an inspection and study of the collection in

the Museum connected with the establishment of your Institution. The reasons for advancing the interests, developing the resources and perpetuating the preservation of material upon which the paramount stability of the Museum of your Society is based, are numerous; of an admitted importance; and of a more widespread influence attractive to visitors, than the most conservative councilor would be willing to question.

Thirty thousand distinct objects, many of rare interest and value, have been gathered by my efforts into the vaults connected with your Library, proposed for perpetual display and preservation.

The collection is an absolute necessity as a basis upon which to rest the results of an acquired knowledge of the very earliest prehistoric and semi-historic occurrences which transpired within the confines of the region encompassed by the boundaries of the utmost limit of the Mississippi Basin and adjacent localities in this State, now available for the perpetuation of the solution of at least one question, and a definite record of the results.

Fifty years hence the members then constituting the celebrants of the one hundredth anniversary of your Society will appreciate the value of labors accomplished; and the approach of the time when seven millions of people will be represented in this council, admonishes unselfish zeal for the success of efforts concentrated into timely action which will result in the establishment of a Museum, creditable to this Society, to the State and its people.

It is therefore with the utmost good will and confidence that I beg of you, gentlemen, to aid, foster and encourage efforts to seasonably enlarge, before it is too late, the ethnologic collection now in process of accumulation, upon which can be based a conservative solution of the most complicated questions relating to the history of Indian tribes first discovered in the land of which you are lawfully constituted as the historic authority.

Very respectfully,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. W. Brower". The signature features a prominent, sweeping flourish that extends from the bottom of the name and curves back towards the left side of the page.

INTRODUCTION.


NO DEFINITE determination has heretofore been reached concluding an identification of the builders of ancient artificial earthworks at Mille Lac, Minnesota, the region where a populous Nadouessioux occupancy was discovered by Radisson in 1660, Du Luth in 1679, and Accault and Hennepin in 1680. Before the death of Mr. Alfred J. Hill, in 1895, who had theretofore directed, for many years, a systematic uncompleted inquiry relating to the construction of tumuli in the Northwest, the senior author of this volume commenced and continued a system of archæologic explorations along the head branches of the Mississippi and elsewhere. With the assistance of Mr. F. W. Hodge, Judge John T. Keagy and others, a very thorough inquiry was completed, identifying Harahey, Coronado's northern terminal, by combined geologic, historic and archæologic studies, resulting in the contents of Volume II. of this series of *Memoirs*.

When Mr. Brower advised me that he had concluded arrangements to apply the same characteristic tests to the shore line of Mille Lac, with a view to the identification of the builders of ancient earthworks at that lake, following his preliminary exploration there in 1899, it was my good fortune to become associated in the work, with results set forth in this *Memoir*. There is ample proof to justify the assertion that the ancestors of the present Sioux Indians constructed mounds, lodge circles and embankments in the Mille Lac Basin; and also that the stone and flint implements found there were made and used by the same nation of people.

The field work was prosecuted with diligence, from the standpoint of original explorations, with such detailed surveys as seemed sufficient to completely demonstrate conclusions upon a basis governed exclusively by ascertained facts and conditions.

It has been a pleasure to be welcomed at the Minnesota Historical Society and to receive the obliging assistance of the Secretary, Professor Warren Upham.

The results are submitted to the Society in the unprejudiced belief that new light has been bestowed upon questions heretofore unsettled.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "D. L. Smith". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

LARCHMONT, NEW YORK, October 1, 1900.



SIoux COPPER CRESCENT.

ANCIENT CATLINITE PIPE.

CHIPPED STONE DISC.

SMALL STONE HAMMER.

(Actual Size).

From Headwaters of the Mississippi.

PERSONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

MR. DAVID L. KINGSBURY and Mr. John Goadby Gregory have obligingly permitted the use of desirable maps for this *Memoir*, and Professor Reuben G. Thwaites furnished the data by which the earliest mention of Sioux Indians was made known.

Chief Wah-we-yay-cum-ig and leading members of his Ojibway band of Mille Lac Indians, at Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay, gave such reliable and valuable information that it was deemed best to perpetuate portraits, names, signatures and "O-do-daim-uns" in recognition of their hospitality and intelligence.

Mr. Charles F. Jewett and Mr. John R. Gill have carefully made many pen drawings appearing in this volume, and the Art Engraving Company, of St. Paul, had entire direction of the preparations for the illustrations.

Mr. William S. MacEwen, who is in charge of one of the mechanical departments of the H. L. Collins Company, has devoted his entire time for many weeks in creditably producing the typographical excellence desired for this volume, similar to the preceding numbers, entitled, *Quivira* and *Harahey*, of which he had the management for the publishers.

Messrs. Frederick R. Nichols, David H. Robbins and Jacob Workman, residents at Mille Lac, furnished material for illustrations, as did Mr. C. E. Haines and Mr. G. A. Rice, of Aitkin, and Henry Scott, of Centreville.

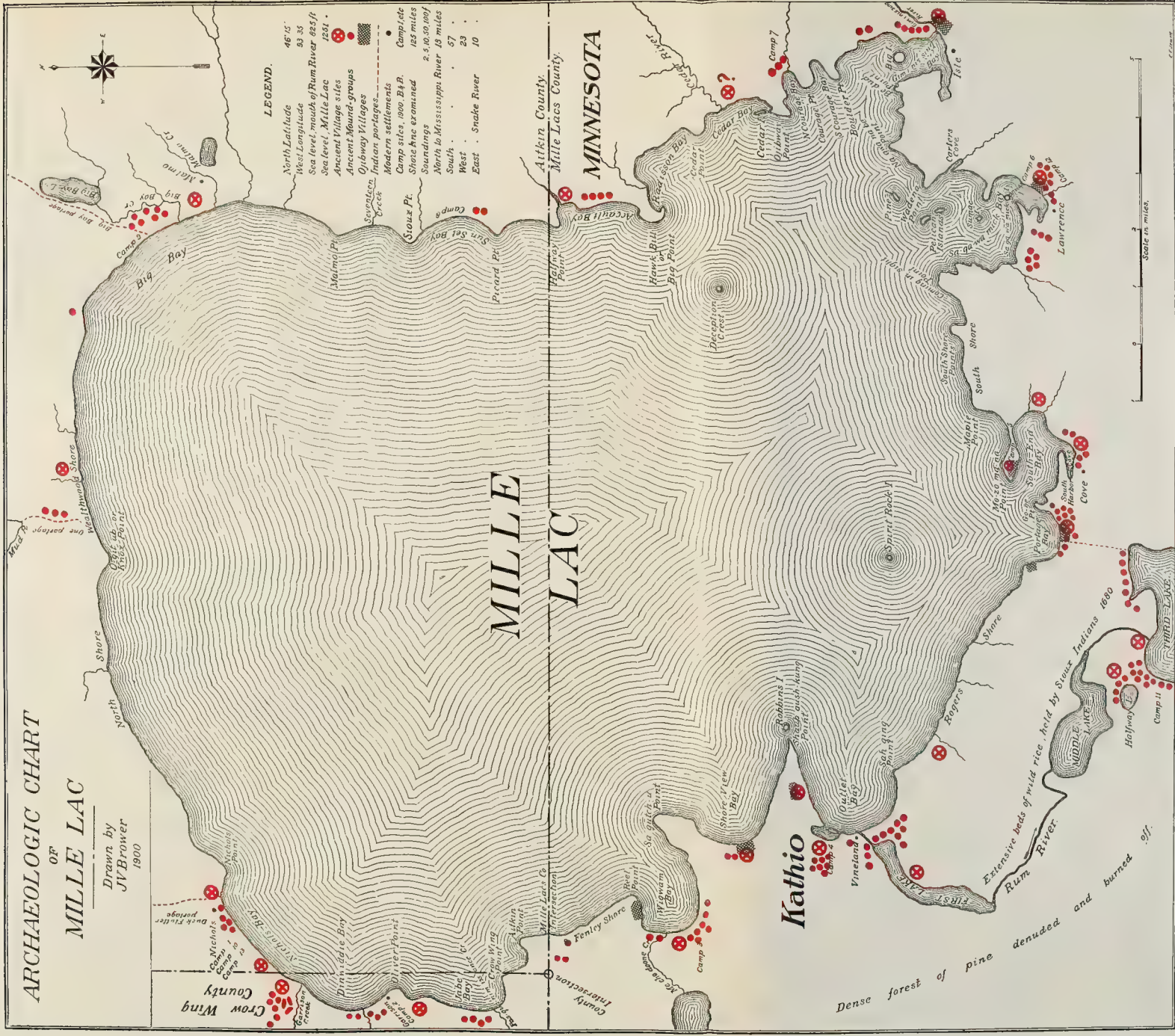
There are many omissions of suitable material prepared for insertion in the following pages, relating to names, distances, portages, soundings, elevations, mound groups, village sites, inclosures and explorations, elsewhere than at Mille Lac; the object gained by curtailment constituting a purpose to confine the discussion to one principal question: to identify the nation of men who constructed the earthworks at Mille Lac, and the facts presented demonstrate the value of the course adopted.

Rev. Edward C. Mitchell, of St. Paul, who has a valuable collection of copper and flint objects, and Mr. J. B. Chaney, in charge of the Historical Society collection, have shown wherein a comparative study is of importance to a work of this nature.

Those individuals who have submitted many objects which do not appear in the illustrations herein will readily understand that Mille Lac is the subject discussed.

ARCHAEOLOGIC CHART
OF
MILLE LAC

Drawn by
J V Brower
1900





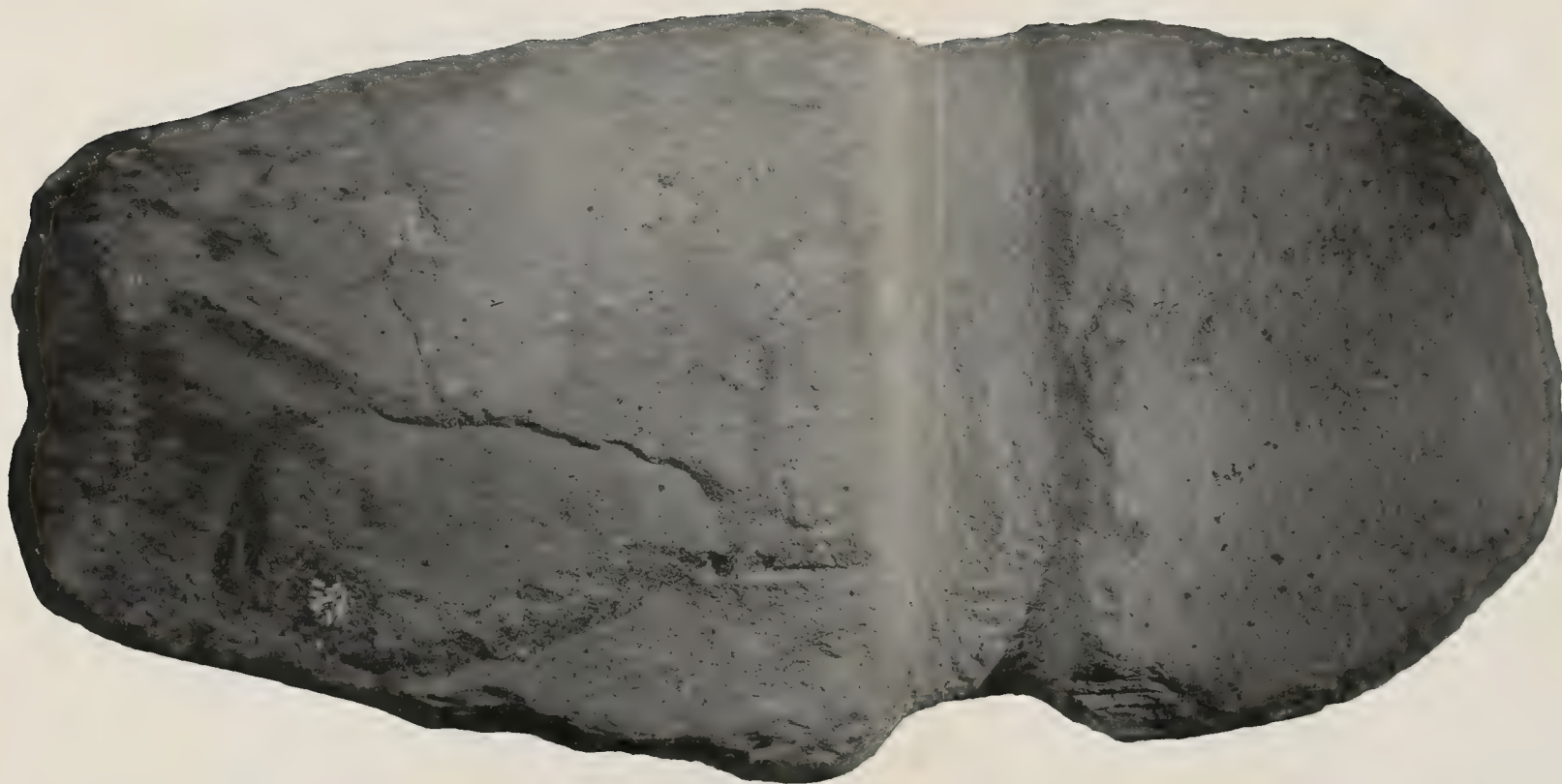
**MAP
OF
MINNESOTA
AND
DAKOTA**

**SHOWING ROUTE OF THE
NORTHWESTERN
INDIAN EXPEDITION OF
1864.**

DRAWN BY
D.L. KINGSBURY.
1898.

SCALE OF MILES.





GROOVED STONE AXE. 1

From head of Sandy River, Aitkin County, Minnesota, twenty miles northeast from Mille Lac.

Donated for illustration by Mr. C. E. Haines.

The material is diorite, with battered groove and poll, and the chipped blade is worn by hard usage. Weight, 180 ounces; length, thirteen inches. Similar but smaller specimens were found at Mille Lac. The purpose for which such implements were used was to secure water in winter, through ice which often reaches a thickness of thirty inches in Northern Minnesota.



From Brower's *Prehistoric Man at Headwaters of the Mississippi.*

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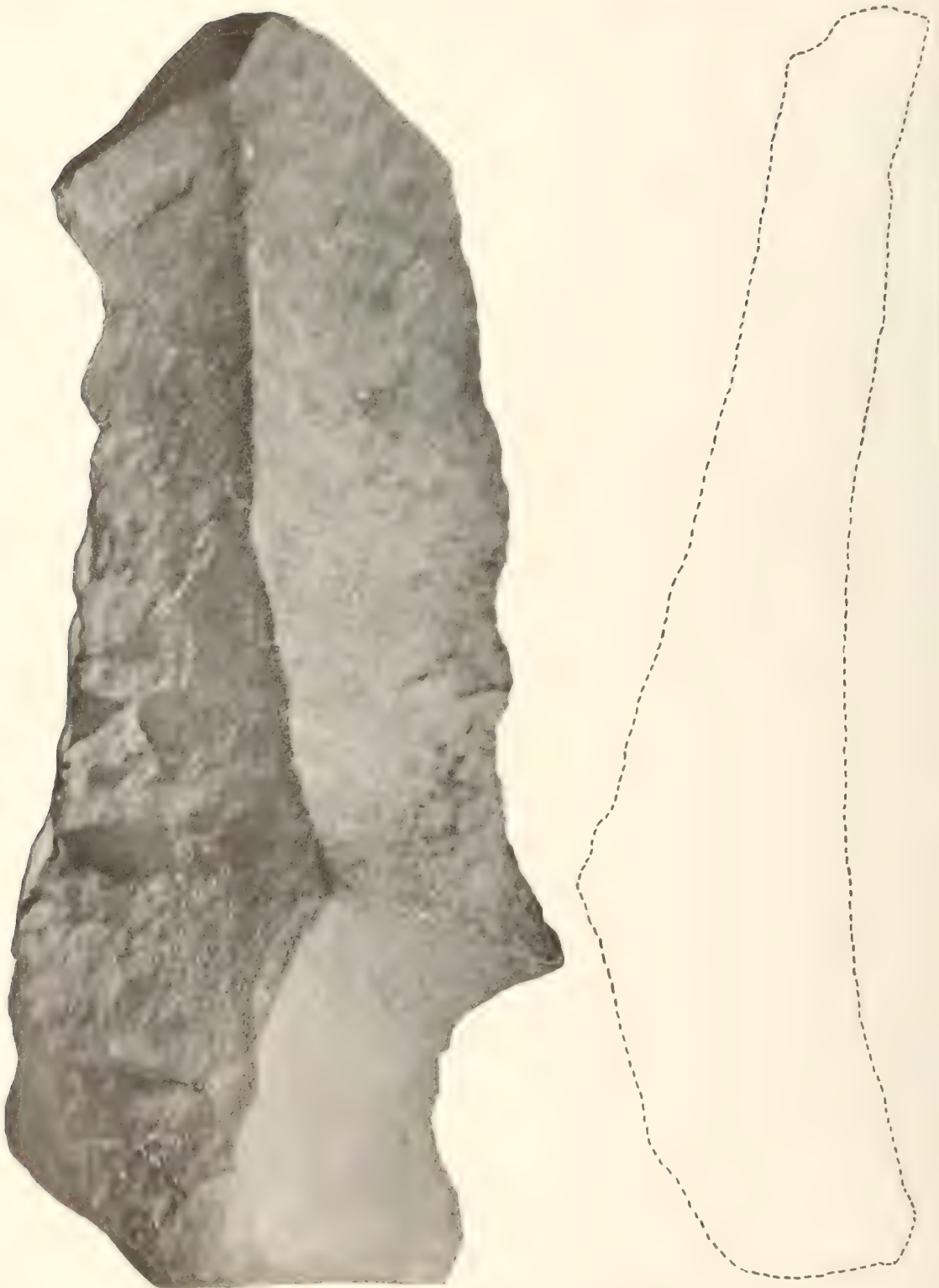
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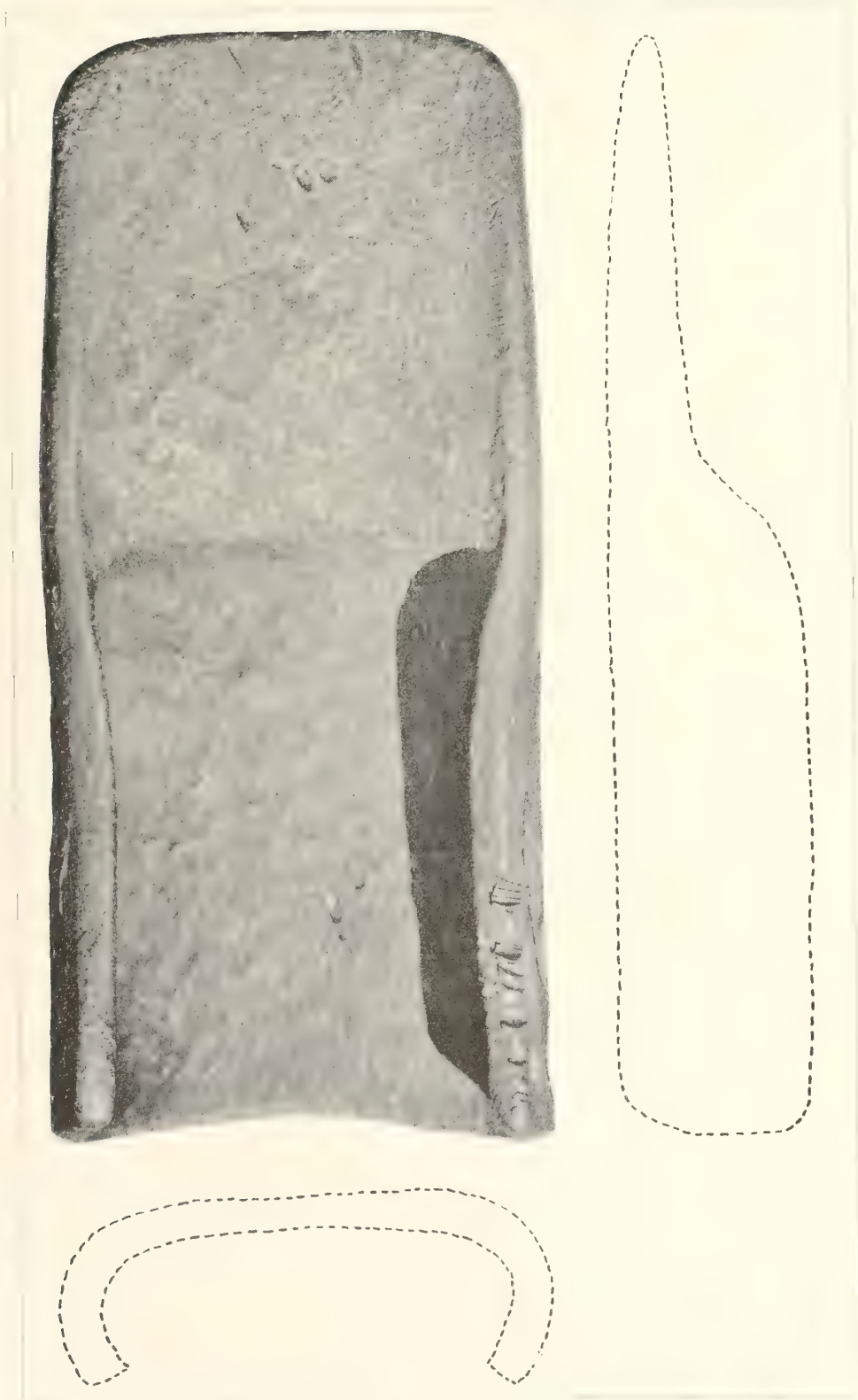
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LARGE CHIPPED FLAKE. 1

From Nichols Bay. Made from a Boulder Spall.



MASSIVE HAMMERED COPPER SPADE. 1.

From Sandy Lake, Aitkin County, Minnesota.

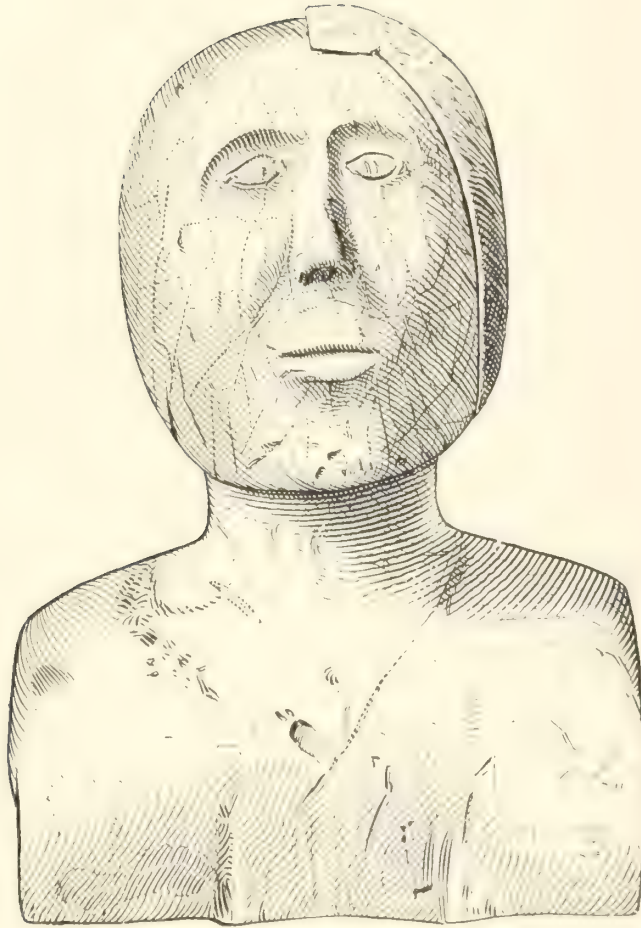
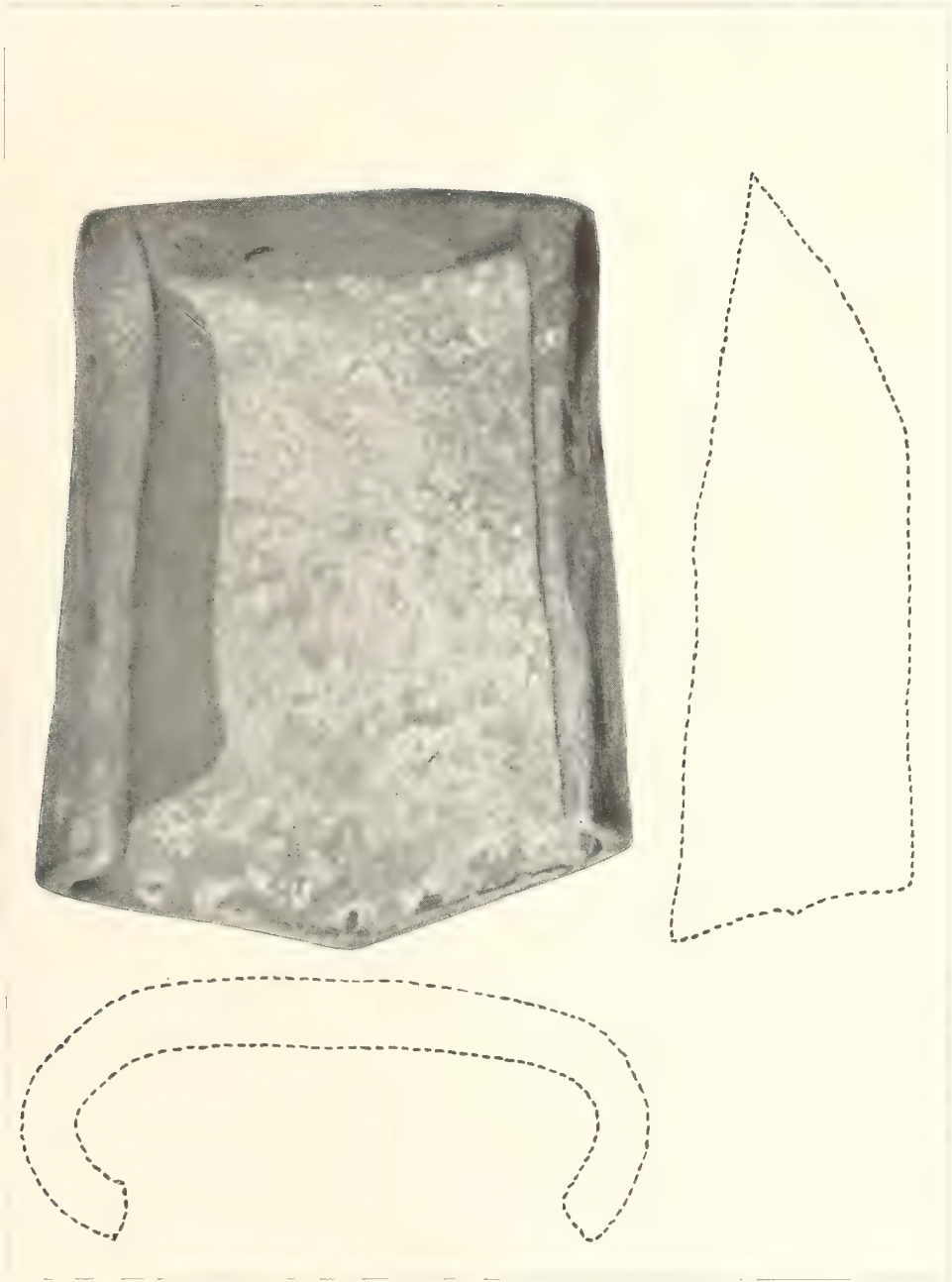


IMAGE OF CATLINITE. 1.

Taken from a mound in South Dakota by His Excellency, Honorable John Lind, Goveroor of Minnesota.

Catlin describes Sioux images of red pipestone, and at page 234, Volume I., *North American Indians*, edition of 1842, illustrated specimens showing the human form.



COPPER SPUD. 1.

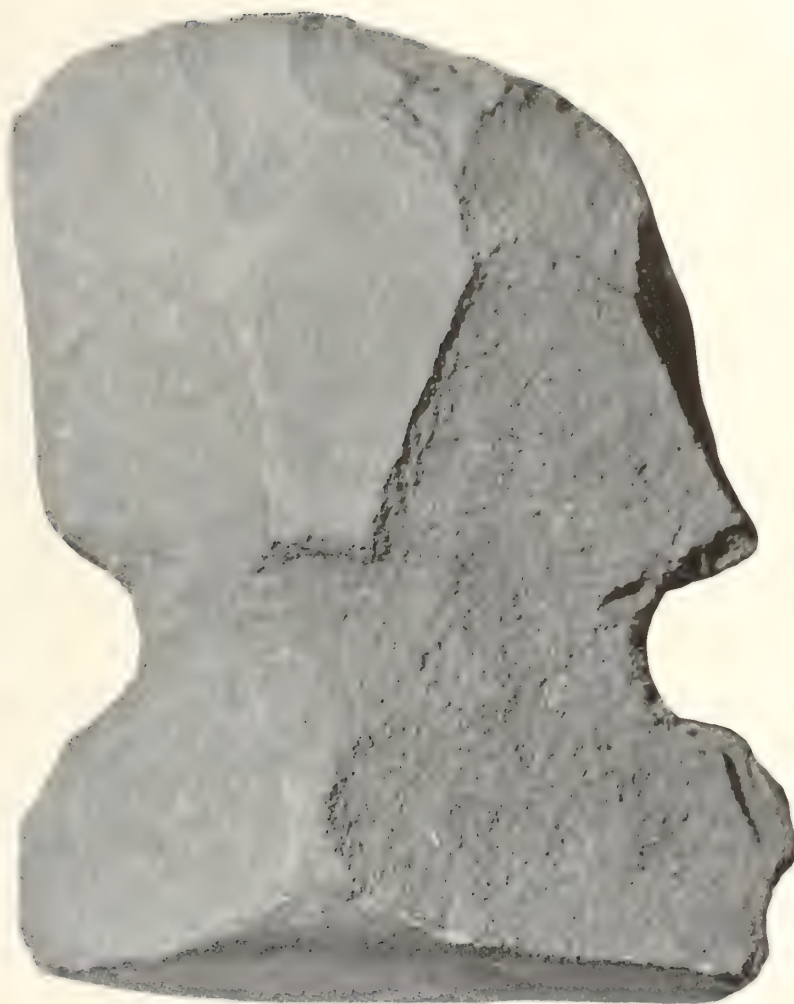
From Mille Lac. Figured in Moorehead's *Prehistoric Implements*, page 62. The true definition of "spud" among tanners is as follows: An implement used to peel bark from trees.



RUDE CHIPPED BLADE. 1.

From Nichols Bay.

The object was made from a heavy flake struck from a glacial boulder of sandstone. It is moderately concavo-convex in form.



RUDE NOTCHED HOE. $\frac{1}{1}$.

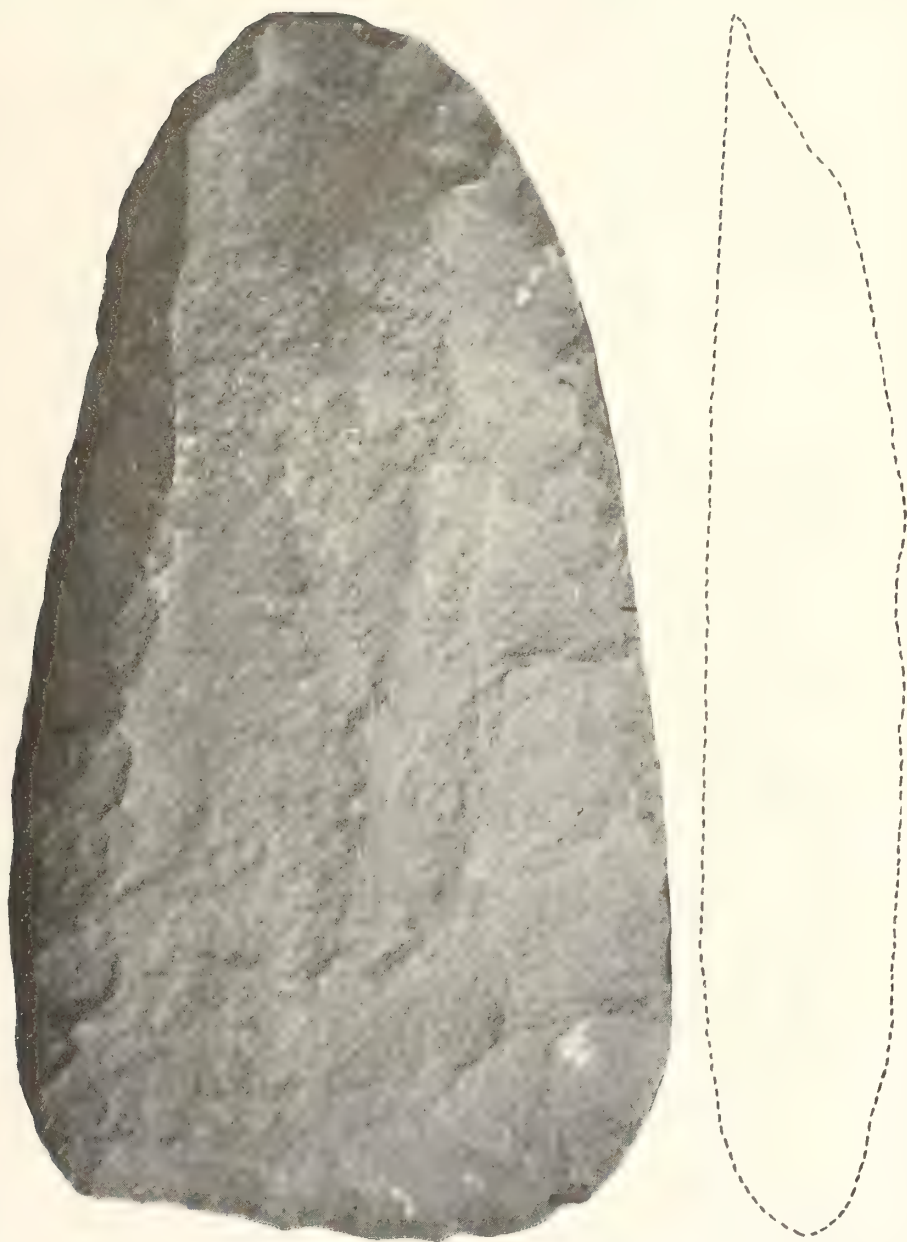
From Nichols Bay.

The implement was battered and chipped into form from a flat glacial cobble.



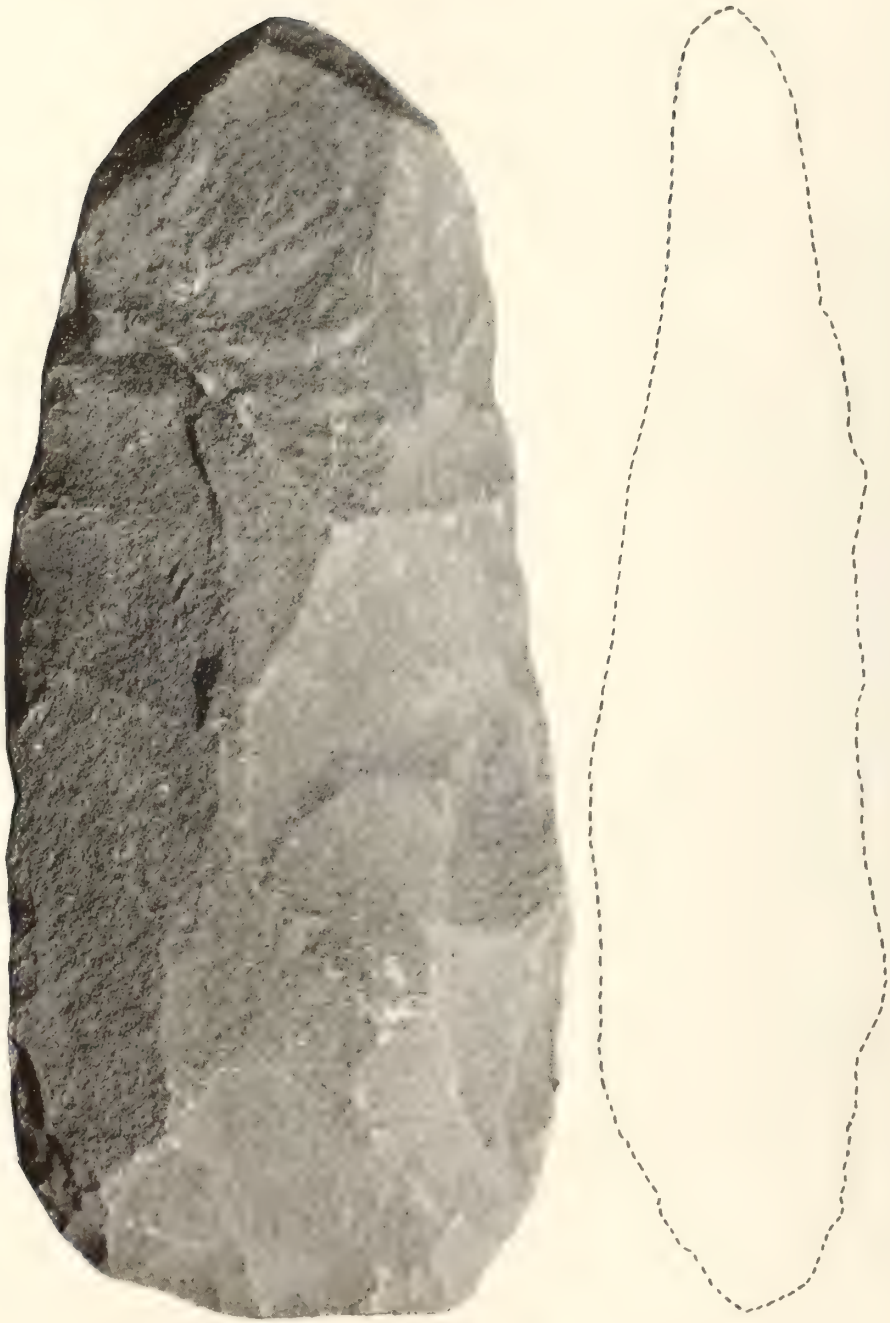
A PAIR OF GRANITE AXES.

From Nichols Bay.



MILLE LAC CHIPPED HOE. 4.

From Nichols Bay.



CHIPPED SANDSTONE IMPLEMENT. $\frac{1}{2}$

From Nichols Lodge Circle.



COPPER AND GUNFLINT OBJECTS. $\frac{4}{5}$.

1. Sioux Copper Crescent, described by Radisson. From village on Crow Wing River.
2. Gunflint Arrowpoint from Malmo.
3. Copper Needle or Awl from Jabe Bay.
4. Gunflint Flake from Malmo.
5. Copper Spearhead from Garrison Creek.
6. Copper Spearhead from Nichols Bay.
7. Gunflint Spearhead from a Malmo mound.

1 -

2

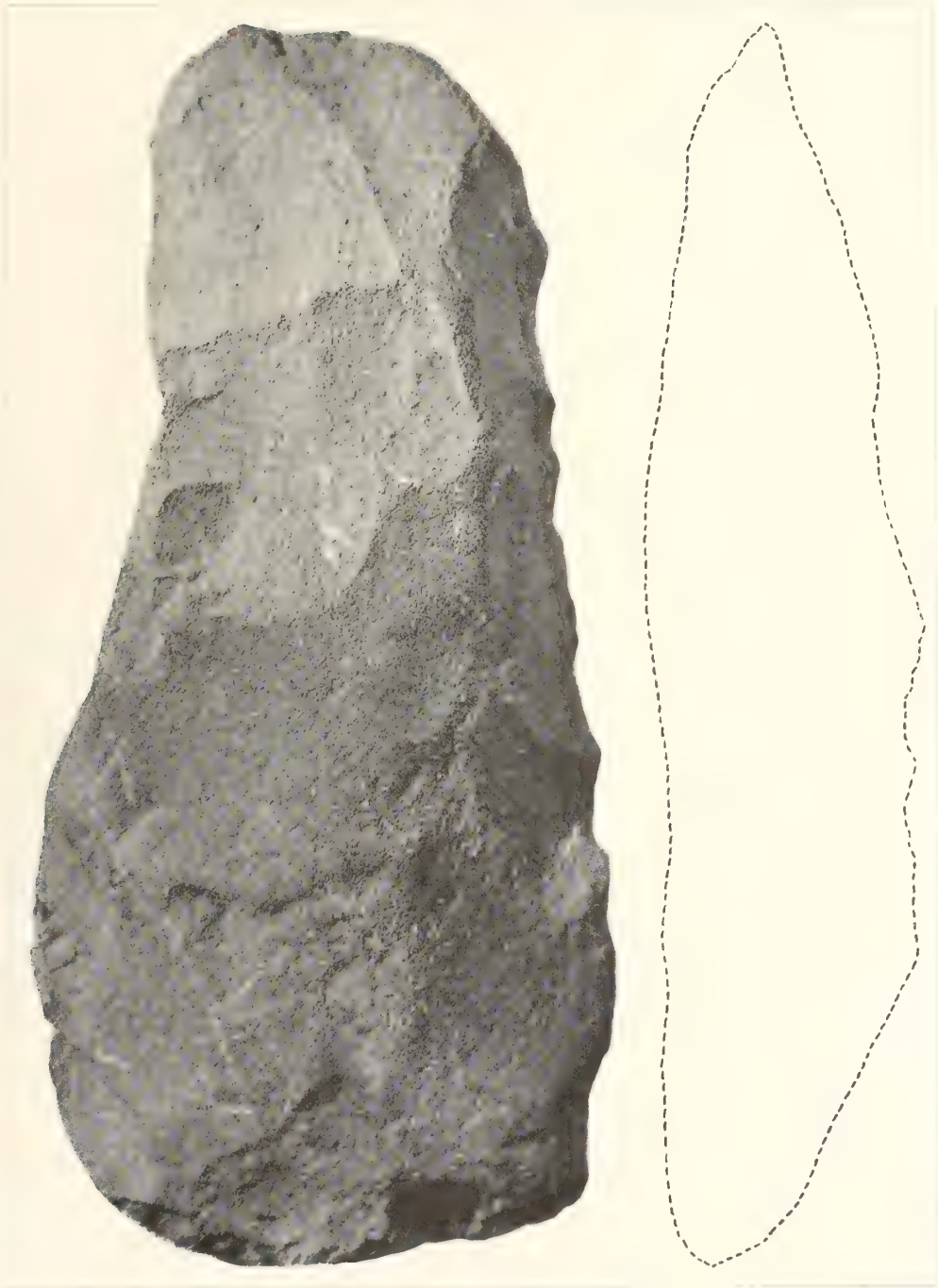
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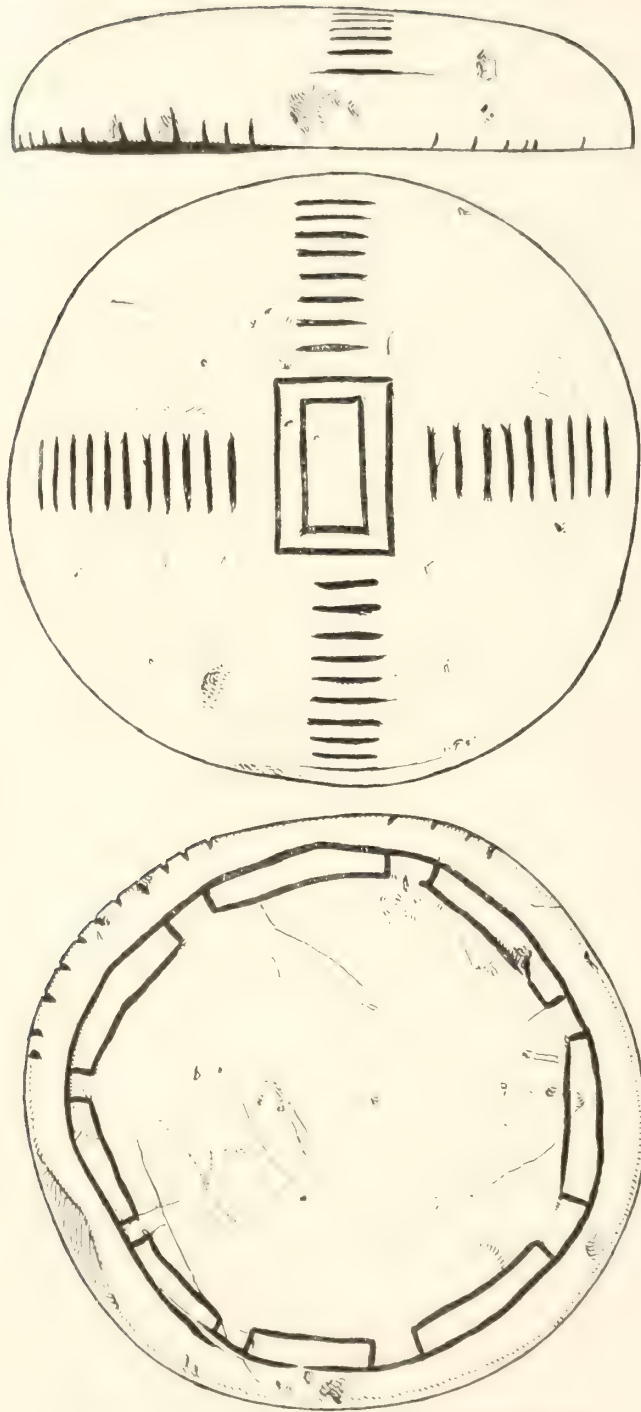
COPPER KNIVES, HATCHETS, CHISEL AND HANDLED-IMPLEMENT. 1.

From Aitkin County, Minnesota.



CHIPPED SANDSTONE HOE. 1.

Nichols Mound Group, Aitkin County, Minnesota.



COSMIC SYMBOL OF CATLINITE.

From North Dakota. Cross section, obverse and reverse pen drawings. The four, and eight directions are cut on this symbol. Found associated with gun-flint points and pot shards.



MILLE LAC.

§ 1. GEOLOGIC FORMATION.

CURTAILED REFERENCES INDICATING CHARACTER OF HYDROGRAPHY AND LOCATION OF AN INLAND LAKE IN MINNESOTA.

M'de Wakan (Spirit Lake) is the name first known to have been applied to Mille Lac, a beautiful and romantic body of water which occupies a limited and elevated basin twelve miles due south from Aitkin, on the Northern Pacific Railroad, and about eighty miles west of north from the City of St. Paul, Minnesota.

The elevation of the Mississippi River at Aitkin is 1190-1200 feet above sea level, lowest and highest, intermediate variations being controlled by fluctuating stages of water in the river, supplied by precipitation or artificial reservoirs.

Mille Lac is 1249-1251 or 1254 feet above sea level, incidentally conformable to low, intermediate or high stages of water, as the same may from time to time exist.

Professors Newton H. Winchell and Warren Upham have ably and clearly explained the geology of the region, and it is almost wholly to the geology of Aitkin County, written by Professor Upham, in Volume IV., *Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota*, that dependence has been placed for ascertained hydrographic facts, made available herein, in stating conditions which have a bearing upon the archaeology of this region.

It will be noticed that the surface elevation of Mille Lac is about fifty-five feet higher than the Mississippi River at Aitkin. This condition

is the result of morainic drift, largely composed of sand, pebbles, boulders and gravel-beds, deposited to the depth of about 100 feet, overspreading the original surface, resulting from the effects of an ice-cap, which, during geologic ages, rested upon, advanced over, or receded from the region of Mille Lac, attaining a maximum thickness or depth of ice of probably more than 3,000 feet.

Numerous beaches or lake terraces, formed more recently by ice-pressure or wave-action, are observable along the northern extremities of the lake, indicating quite certainly that smaller lakes, now near by and separated apart from the principal body of water, formerly constituted a part of Mille Lac, at which time it was undoubtedly nearly double its present size.

Any lake now tributary to the larger lake, within the same basin, not exceeding fifteen feet higher in elevation, was, in ancient or more recent time, a part of the main body of water.

When the surface of the earth there was depressed by the great weight of the ice-cap a modified temperature filled the kettle-holes with waters from the melting ice and formed Mille Lac, apparently about 7,000 or 8,000 years ago, the ice-cap having a duration theretofore of possibly 100,000 years. There are no considerable lake beaches at the south end of Mille Lac, and that fact indicates the re-uplifting of the surface at the north end of the lake, causing the drainage to be southward through Rum River, instead of northward through Mud River, and the same cause may be suggested as greatly influencing the channeling of the Mississippi westward from Aitkin, instead of southward.

Natural erosion of the outlet of Mille Lac, and river channeling, have also caused the lake to recede from a former higher surface elevation, which has cast asunder three small lakes, formerly an arm of Mille Lac, now called First, Middle and Third lakes, noted among Indians as productive wild rice beds.

Quartz, granite and other numerous pebbles and boulders are profusely plentiful throughout the Mille Lac basin; float copper has been found there, and sugar maple, wild fruits, game and fish in abundance have characterized the locality as an ideal home for Indian tribes for

many centuries, and aboriginal occupancy there, in Radisson's time (1660), emerged from a prehistoric period to the historic era. This era and the period mentioned are now conservatively the subjects of deliberation.



BEACH AND TERRACE AT SUNSET BAY;
EAST SHORE OF MILLE LAC.

The entire shore extension of Mille Lac bears ample evidences of glacial action and of an early occupancy by ancient man, who availed himself of beauties and conveniences for the purposes of lodge-sites, fishing-waters and sepulture.



TYPICAL MINNESOTA MOUNDS
(Aitkin County.)

§ 2. ARCHAEOLOGY OF MINNESOTA.

BRIEF REFERENCES RELATING TO THE PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION ALONG THE UPPER PORTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND ADJACENT LOCALITIES.

The late Alfred James Hill, a learned and profound student, stands first and foremost in the archæologic history of Minnesota, an unwritten book.

The names of Carver, Long, Keating, Catlin, Nicollet, Warren, Lynd and Nobles represent in part able men who preceded Mr. Hill in more casual observations of ancient tumuli in the Northwest, but their studies and observations were more incidental and less continuous than were Mr. Hill's.

Professor N. H. Winchell, in the Geological Survey, incidentally secured and perpetuated many valuable facts with the assistance of the late Oscar E. Garrison, Professor Warren Upham and others.

Professor George Bryce made and perpetuated the results of explorations along Rainy and Red rivers. He called the earliest man "Takawgamis" in "Season 1884-85, Transaction 18, Historical Society," at Winnipeg.

Other and numerous observers have, from time to time, made known the results of their observations in the region described, but this volume, detailed for a specific purpose, will not admit of a deserved and extended commentary concerning a subject which would occupy the space of an entire and voluminous treatise.

Mr. Hill's studies were initiated before he emigrated to Minnesota from England in 1855, and in 1860, as a trained and scientific civil engineer, he slowly and surely entered upon a most careful and detailed system of gathering facts relating to ancient mounds and earthworks in Minnesota, the preparation of a historical geography and numerous other scientific and current elaborate manuscripts, in process or completed at the time of his demise, in 1895. It has been asserted

that Mr. Hill's papers, maps, manuscripts, scrap-books, records of correspondence, charts, field notes, copied extracts and miscellaneous written and printed data, gathered as the results of thirty-five years' labor, weighed a ton, and this statement was made by one of the administrators of the estate.

The principal results of Mr. Hill's labors are unpublished, in the hands of heirs or others, injured by dissemination or otherwise, and

[FAC SIMILE]

Historical Geography
of
Minnesota, and regions
immediately adjacent
Book 3.
Alfred J. Hall
St. Paul. Minn.

permanently depreciated in value, by occurrences happening since his death. One of the manuscripts, dated August 7, 1882, contains this significant statement:

It begins to appear probable that there were at least two sets [nations] of mound-builders in this region.

He could safely have written that probably five different tribes of Indians constructed mounds and earthworks in the Northwest.

In Volume VI., page 318, Minnesota Historical Collections, Mr. Hill said:

* * * In July, 1869, I made a rough survey of some mounds that had been described as somewhere near the shore of Centreville Lake, eighteen miles from St. Paul. There were seven in the group, and they varied in height from three to five feet, except the last one, which was twelve feet high. This high and steep mound was then in use as a chicken house, a square excavation having been made right into it for the purpose. The sides of the cut furnished good sectional views of human bones imbedded in the earth, disconnected and without order, as if they had been piled together after some promiscuous or piece-meal burial custom of old times. * * *

Mr. Hill's description conveys a very good idea of the manner of bone-burial by the Sioux, and Centreville is almost exactly upon Hennepin's route of travel, in 1680, while going with the Indians toward Mille Lac.

To another perhaps not less distinguished personage Minnesota owes a debt of gratitude for an important discovery at Little Falls, on the east bank of the Mississippi.

Miss Frances Eliza Babbitt, resident at Little Falls, Minnesota, from 1873 to 1886, discovered the unmistakable paleolithic forms of quartz implements, chipped by ancient man. The objects were identified by Professor F. W. Putnam, and the position where they were discovered admits of no dispute that they were involved in glacial gravels. The manner and date of the deposition there has been the subject of animated discussion and extended consideration, without final result, and the true character of the Babbitt paleoliths, so called, remains in question, subject to a more extended observation by whomsoever opportunity may induce to enter upon a determination of that difficult problem.

A study of the tumuli at Mille Lac invites a higher order of discussion herein than does the insufferable methods, claims and prejudices of individuals who ever stand ready to discredit and destroy, if possible, the results of the labor of other explorers whose studies are at least worthy of consideration.



VIEW AT RUM RIVER FLOWING OUT OF MILLE LAC.
OUTLET BAY, ROBBINS ISLE AND SHUB-AUSH-KONG POINT.

§ 3. TRIBES AND NAMES.

NOMENCLATURE AVAILABLE FOR USE IN A CONSIDERATION OF THE ARCHEOLOGY OF MILLE LAC, DERIVED FROM HISTORIC AND OTHER SOURCES.

Nomenclature in the Northwest is in deplorable condition, and no attempt is now made to correct errors or harmonize differences.

Such expressions as seem most available, and forms of spelling controlled by pronunciation, are used, as being the most desirable and convenient. The list, purposely curtailed, is drawn from various sources, the Indians consulted surpassing in correctness of expression and true meaning the entire incongruous mass of abbreviated and modified forms found in the printed records, reports, treatises and histories.

When the well informed Indian hears his own history read as written by those who have forcibly supplanted him in rightful possessions, he is amazed at the absurdities of expression, and often amused, as he will be if his name becomes "Amerind," recently offered as a substitute for "*American Indian*," thereby perpetuating an original error, notwithstanding the convenience offered by the abbreviated form.

It is found that perhaps more than half of the authorities use the name "Mille Lac" instead of "Mille Lacs," and the former is adopted here as being the nearest correct, since it is certainly improper to call one lake "Thousand Lakes," by geographic designation, and it also is urged that Mille Lacs County or Thousand Lakes County is the most proper because it is the name of a region reputed to be the extensive locality of a thousand lakes.

The abbreviated name "Sioux," as applied to the Dakota Indian, has become so permanently fixed in our history that nothing but a compulsory law will ever remove it, notwithstanding its erroneous adoption.

Modified names of tribes and of individual Indian chiefs are no more extensive than is the changed geographic nomenclature in the

record of transition from the Indian possession to the European occupancy, the occurrences being incidental to careless and inferior translations, purposes, or misunderstood expressions of language and descriptions of localities.

LIST OF NAMES.

Naduesiu, first mentioned in Relation of 1640.

Nadowessway—snake-like, enemies.

Nadowasewag—adders.

Nadouessioux—Charlevoix said: "The name of Sioux, that we give to these Indians, is entirely of our own making, or rather it is the last two syllables of the name."

Siouan—Adjective denoting "Sioux" Indians and cognate tribes.—McGee, page 157, *Siouan Indians*, and many other authorities.

Dakota—Seven Council Fires, by seven bands of Sioux Indians, occupying the region between Lake Superior and Missouri River. This name appears to have originated among the bands when they came together in council.

Radisson (page 194) gives the name as "Nadoneceronons—nation of Beefe" [Buffalo].

In Minnesota a county is named Isanti. Some of the forms of this name are—Isanyatee, Isanati, Sisseton, Santee. "Isan—knife, ati—dwell." A portion of the tribe dwelt on Knife River and lake, in Kanabec County, near Mille Lac; hence the name.

Chapter X., *Relation* of 1640, page 227, Thwaites' translation, 1898, entitled, "Of the hope we have for the conversion of many savages," describes and mentions the name of Indian nations inhabiting the region of the Great Lakes. The description is contemporaneous with an ideal consideration of the locality of each tribe, determined from the east toward the west, up the St. Lawrence and through the fresh water seas.

Records of these nations, and a description of the locality occupied by each, so far as the same could be from time to time ascertained, constituted much of the material perpetuated in the *Jesuit Relations*.

now in process of translation and republication under the editorial direction of Professor R. G. Thwaites, and knowledge that those nations existed undoubtedly attracted Radisson and Groseilliers to a discovery of them before 1665.

Probably at this time the name of the Sioux nation, as now popularly designated, was first brought to notice in the following language in *Relation* of 1640:

* * * So that these people are called Ouinipigon because they come from the shores of a sea about which we have no knowledge; and hence they ought not to be called the nation of Stinkards, but the nation of the sea. In the neighborhood of this nation are the Naduesiu, the Assinipour, the Eriniousai, the Rasaouakoueton and the Pououtouatami.

Therein is our knowledge of an early mention of the Sioux, Winnebago and Assiniboine nations, all being of the Dakota stock, then (1640) in part located near the headwaters, or beyond the utmost branches of the St. Lawrence River towards the Missouri. Sieur Nicolet, the Algonquin interpreter, is credited (page 233) with first giving the names of Dakota tribes mentioned.

Query: Does not the mention of the name "Assinipour" in the *Relation* of 1640 indicate that the separation of the Assiniboines from the Sioux took place previous to 1634?

No authoritative date has been found determining the time when that band of Indians withdrew from the Sioux Villages and formed an alliance against them.

The following nations or bands of Indians are reputed or known to have maintained their habitat for periods of time within the limits of the present boundaries of Minnesota:

Minnetarees (Grosventres).

Crees—or Cristineaux or Kristineaux.

Dakotas—Sioux—Spirit Lake Villagers, Eastern Sioux, as distinguished from the Plains tribes.

Iowas—Southern part of Minnesota.

Assiniboines—Seceding Stone Sioux. They cooked their food with hot stones.

Ojibways—They forced the Sioux to retire from Northern Minnesota and Mille Lac, as a result of long continued warfare.

Cheyennes—Who retired westward across the Missouri, from the region of Big Stone Lake.

Winnebagoes—At Long Prairie, Sauk Centre and Winnebago Prairie.

Sauks—A short time at Sauk Valley.

LOCAL NAMES.

Mille Lac was known as Spirit Lake (Me-de-wa-kan). The French changed it in Du Luth's and Hennepin's time to "Buade," in honor of Governor Frontenac, and when the region became known as the location of a thousand lakes the principal body of water was called by its present name. The Ojibways call it Me-se—Great. The shores are irregular, heavily timbered, and the Sioux occupancy began there in prehistoric ages; therefore the study of its archæology is based upon the same manner of procedure as applied to the archæology of Quivira and Harahey. The historic record is a guide to the true determination of ancient events at Spirit Lake (Mille Lac), and will be quoted at length.

During hot weather, on clear and calm days, many explosions are plainly heard across the surface of Mille Lac. The sound is similar to the discharge of a shot-gun in the distance, or the rising to the surface of a large bubble of escaping gas, a greatly increased sound similar to water escaping from an inverted jug. Mysterious sounds escaping from the lake made it a "spirit" lake. Possibly accumulated gas from a coal vein beneath, expanded by heat and thence escaping upward, may account for the reports, which certainly emanate there frequently during hot weather. Presumably these apparently mysterious sounds caused the origin for the Sioux name for the lake and the name of its ancient villagers. Three of the explosions were distinctly heard at Camp No. 8, May 24, 1900, at Sunset Bay.

Way-we-yay-cum-ig, the Ojibway chief at Mille Lac, whose name is said to mean Round-earth, and his oldest chiefs and head men, explained the names of many localities around the lake, and the list,

with much additional information gained from settlers and otherwise, is as follows:

Mille Lac—Me-se Sagiagun—Great Lake.

Outlet Bay—Sah-ging.

Rogers Shore—After Oren S. Rogers, who was drowned near there June 27, 1896.

Portage Bay—O-ne-ga-ming.

South End Bay—We-quaga-mong.

Mo-zo-ma-na Point—After a deceased chief.

Coming-in-sight Point—Sah-gay-ah-o-nah-ning.

Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay—Long shoal or sand bar.

Round Earth Point—After the head chief.

Wadena Point—After a former chief.

Na-gwa-na-be Point—After Feathers-end, medicine chief.

Be-dud Point—After Be-dud, an old Indian.

Gim-i-mis-sing Bay and River—After Big Island.

North Courage Bay	}	After A-ya-shintang, He-is-encouraged.
South Courage Bay		
Courage Point		

Radisson Bay—After first European in Minnesota, 1659.

Accault Bay—After Michael Accault.

Picard Point—After Anthony Auguelle.

Sunset Bay—Picturesque evening view, east shore.

Malmo Point—Local name of the region.

O-git-ub Point { Ojibway Indian.

Knox Point { Hon. D. J. Knox.

One Portage—Ancient trail on which only one carry, without resting, was made.

Nichols Point—After Mr. Austin R. Nichols.

Garrison Creek—After Oscar E. Garrison.

Dinwiddie Bay—After a resident.

Oliver Point—After John Oliver.

Jabe Bay—After an early settler.

Pas-qua-nim-is-ance Creek—Timberless island creek.



Wm. M. Ue Gannig

CHIEF OF MILLE LAC OJIBWAYS, HIS SIGNATURE, WOLF, "O DO-
DAIM-UN," AND MEMBERS OF HIS BAND.

Fenley Shore—After Wm. E. Fenley. The locality is also referred to as Fenley Bay.

Me-che-doone Creek—After a whiskered trader.

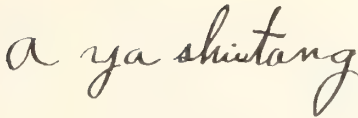
Sa-gutch-u Point—After a resident Ojibway named Sa-gutch-u.

Robbins Island—After D. H. Robbins.

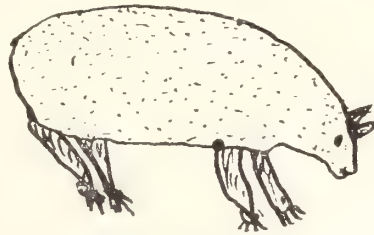
Shaub-aush-kung Point—After an Ojibway chief. Also called "Cormorant Point."

Sah-ging Point—Outlet Point.

Many other names appear which are self explanatory.



SIGNATURE.



BEAR TOTEM.

A ya shintang was educated at a public school and distinctly pronounced the word O-do-daim-un, instead of totem, and, while in camp at North Courage Bay, he described many names of that region for this publication, and the information given by him, combined with the statements of other Indians, is sufficiently valuable to perpetuate.

There are three small lakes below the outlet of Mille Lac, through which Rum River flows, named respectively on the official plats, Ogechie, Nessawae and Onamia. The Mille Lac Indians state that their name for said lakes, commencing at the outlet, are First Lake (May-tume-gah-mag), Between Lake (Nes-sa-we-gah-mag) and Last Lake (Aish-quagah-mag), and the small lake between the last two, south side of Rum River, they call Half-way-lake, hence the names First, Between and Halfway lakes concisely describe the Ojibway meaning.



James W. Lynch

HISTORIAN OF THE SIOUX NATION, AND WAKKAN-WASECHAN-HEYIYADAN (SACRED-MAN-PROCEEDING), WHO SHOT HIM, AUGUST 18, 1862.

By permission of Colonel Robert I. Holcombe.

§ 4. HISTORIC PERIOD.

HABITAT, USAGES AND MANNERS OF DAKOTA INDIANS WHEN FIRST DISCOVERED AT AND NEAR MILLE LAC, AND SUBSEQUENT OCCURRENCES.

Peter Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law, Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, French explorers, in the winter of 1659-1660, discovered Sioux Indian settlements within the territory now encompassed by the boundaries of Minnesota.

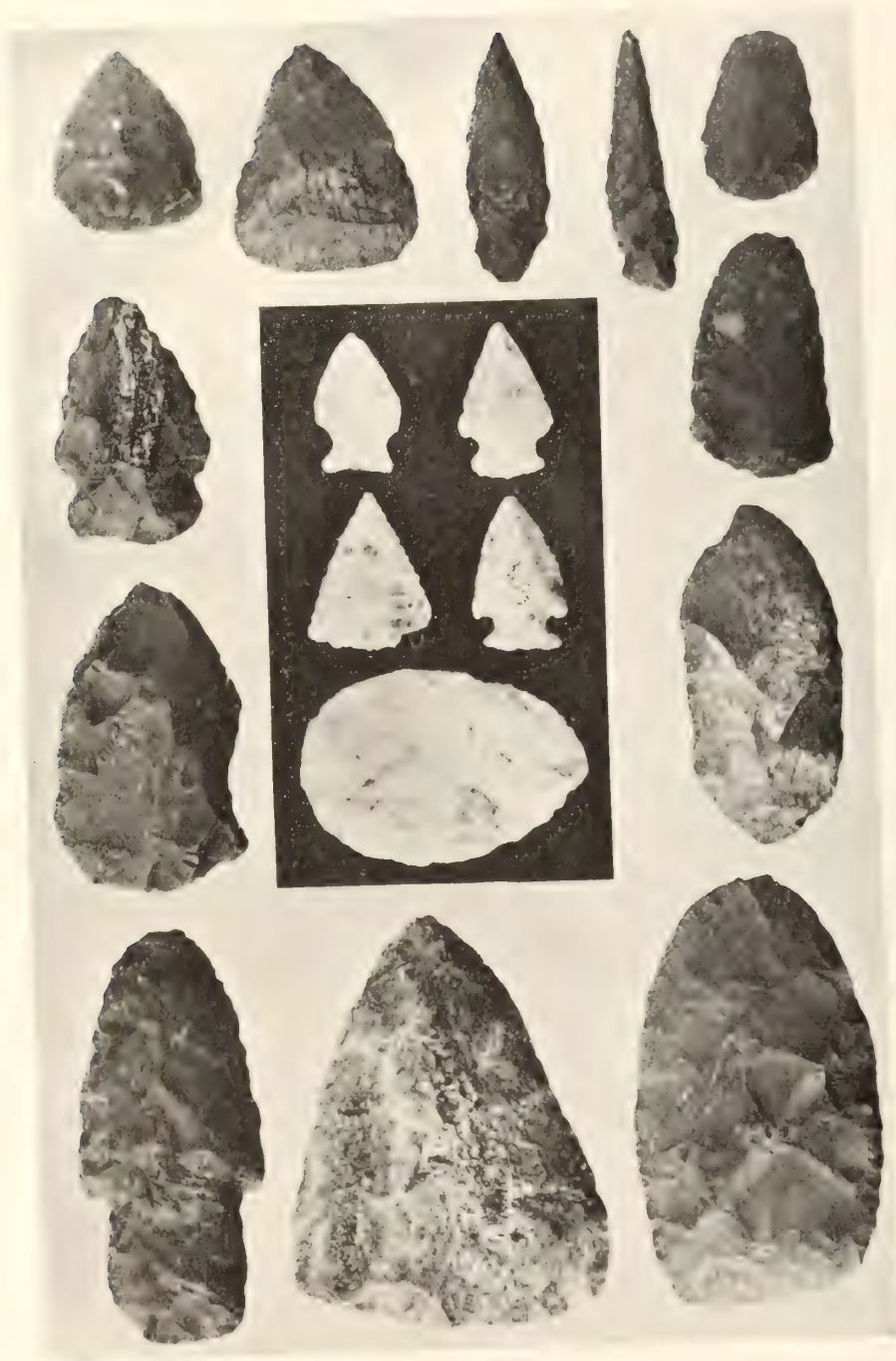
Radisson wrote at length, descriptions of the region and of the Indians they visited. The manuscripts remained unpublished until 1885, when the Prince Society, under the title, *Radisson's Voyages*, presented the valuable narratives herein referred to as a contribution to historic literature.

Mr. Henry Colin Campbell, a member of the Parkman Club, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, January 14, 1896, under the title, *Exploration of Lake Superior*, issued an admirable address successfully and convincingly explaining Radisson's omitted dates, described his routes of travel, and harmonized misleading statements necessarily appearing in a narrative description concerning an unknown country and an undiscovered people who then inhabited it.

The volume mentioned, carefully digested, and Mr. Campbell's conservative paper, are the best authorities from which Radisson can be traced along the south shore of Lake Superior to Chequamegon Bay, thence five great days' journey inland to the southward or southwestward to the habitations of Huron and Ottawa Indians in Northwestern Wisconsin, where a famine overtook them, and thence into the Sioux country.

At page 21 Mr. Campbell says:

Later in the winter [1660], after a storm had brought relief from famine, by making it possible for them to hunt, the Frenchmen and their Indian companions wandered into the Sioux country, between the



POINTS AND BLADES FROM CENTREVILLE, ON
HENNEPIN'S ROUTE OF TRAVEL.

(Slightly Reduced Size).

MILLE LAC. PLATE XXI.



POINTS AND BLADES FROM MILLE LAC.

(Slightly Reduced Size).

St. Croix and Upper Mississippi rivers, and were visited by the Sioux. Somewhere in that country, according to Radisson, they built a fort 600 by 603 feet. From the fort Radisson visited the Christinos, at three days' journey, and he and Groseilliers spent six weeks in a Sioux camp which was seven days' journey from the big fort.

Radisson, at page 212, describes copper crescents worn as an ornament, the form of a half-moon, also the universal Sioux habit of ornamentation by the use of porcupine quills, and a "kinde of rice, much like oats." At page 219 earthen pots, then in use, are referred to, and "also the visit of the bones of their deceased friends, for they keep them and bestow them one upon another," a Sioux custom well known to have been usual in later times.

Bows and arrows are frequently referred to in Radisson's accounts, and the Sioux village, with great cabins made of skins and mats, which they visited, contained 7,000 men. The soil was good and the corn poor, on account of cold weather. The prairies of the region are referred to, where the buffalo were slaughtered for food, and the pipe-stone seems to be referred to, though with uncertainty. The statement that the Sioux were where there was no wood in summer time and that they retired in winter to the woods of the North, exactly describes the Northwest region between Minnesota River and Mille Lac.

Radisson's overland route of travel from his fort near St. Croix River to the Sioux settlements can never be exactly known, but there are reasonable grounds for suggesting that the identity of the Dakota tribe visited must be conformable to the character of the country which Radisson describes: part prairie and part timber; hence the Me-de-wa-kan-ton-wan settlements on Mille Lac, Knife river and lake, and the prairies north of Minnesota River, will undoubtedly be finally accepted as the "Nadoneceronon" villages found there twenty years later by Accault and Hennepin.

Radisson discovered the Sioux to be a populous, warlike people, polygamous, and living in plenty. The prairies and forests are mentioned; planting of corn, which grew very small on account of the cold climate, is referred to, and the subsistence drawn from the results of hunting the buffalo was found to be annually supplied by the use of



ANCIENT TRAIL AT SA-GA-WA-MICK BAY.



PINE FOREST AT THIRD LAKE.

ancient and primitive arms of the chase. Early settlers in Northern Minnesota well remember the diminutive "squaw corn," so called, which would mature in from sixty to eighty days. The Ojibway villagers continue its use, and its acclimated character no doubt evolved from the earliest fields of Northwestern production.

Radisson's narratives, digested and ably interpreted by Mr. Campbell, must always remain as of great historic value to Minnesota and the Northwest, and while Radisson's advent into and discovery of the region surrounding Mille Lac is placed as occurring in 1659, there is yet to be published a historic statement, by a distinguished writer, describing Radisson's discovery of the Mississippi near Red Wing, Minnesota, as early as 1655.

ACCAULT AND HENNEPIN.

Michael Accault and Anthony Auguelle (nicknamed "Le Picard du Guay"), in February, 1680, were sent by Sieur de la Salle from Fort Crevecœur to an exploration of the Upper Mississippi to open trade with the Indian tribes known to inhabit that region. Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollect friar, accompanied the two explorers.

In 1683 Hennepin published an account of their experiences and discoveries, and it is from that original source of information, as translated by John Gilmary Shea, in 1880, that the following condensed statement of facts concerning Sioux Indians encountered, impartially rendered, is formulated. Consideration of Hennepin's eccentric course in life, and all notice of heated discussions relating to his published statements, are designedly avoided. Catholics praise and protestants blame him, and his qualities as a writer and author, explorer or friar, have no rightful place with studies which introduce some valuable statements of fact, found in his *Description of Louisiana*, which have been accepted as truthful. It matters but little whether Accault was or was not the leader of the party; most likely he was; but Hennepin wrote the *Description* and gained an audience, and with it showers of laudations and defamations. The party set out from the fort on the Illinois River in a bark canoe February 29, 1680, with goods worth

about 1200 livres, which were entrusted to Accault. They successfully proceeded down the Illinois and up the Mississippi until, on the 11th or 12th of April, they suddenly discovered thirty-three canoes filled with 120 Sioux warriors on their way to attack the Illinois and other Indian settlements down the river. The war party proceeded to an attack immediately, but on perceiving that they presented a peace pipe, thoughtfully furnished by La Salle, all attempts to kill the three explorers came to naught, but they were no doubt practically forced to go with the warriors, who were armed with bows and arrows and used dressed skins for blankets, to their villages at Mille Lac. That Hennepin was thoroughly frightened by the war-whoop of the Sioux there can be no doubt whatever, and that fact lent a shading to the language of his narrative against the savages, who, under all the circumstances, must be understood as having treated him with some consideration and such measure of decency as finally guaranteed to him his life and liberty; more than he had any right to expect from ancient marauders in pursuit of scalps.

The war party turned back and with their visitors, almost made prisoners, they left the Mississippi and their canoes not a great distance from the mound-group at Daytons Bluff and proceeded overland on foot direct to the Mille Lacs region, undoubtedly via White Bear Lake, thence to near where Centreville is now situated, and to Rum River and Mille Lac. The march occupied about five days, and Hennepin says (page 225) they arrived at the villages "about the Easter holidays in the year 1680." They were conducted to separate villages apparently, the first one being "on an island where their cabins were."

"Wazikute, The Shooter of the Pines," was the head chief (See Minnesota Historical Collections, Volume I., page 316). Mille Lacs was a most beautiful pine region until recent denudation by lumbermen, and no doubt Wazikute shot the pines in his infancy.

In July the Frenchmen left Mille Lac in canoes, with a hunting party, and four days later arrived at the bluff on the Mississippi opposite the mouth of Rum River, and thence proceeded down the Mississippi below the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua. On the 25th of July, 1680, the Sieur Du Luth, with four men, proceeding from Lake

MILLE LAC. PLATE XXIII.



POINTS AND BLADES FROM MILLE LAC.

(Slightly Reduced Size.)

Superior down St. Croix River, joined Hennepin and the hunting party not far from the mouth of Black River, and they all returned to Mille Lac, arriving there August 14th, where they remained until the last of September, when they resolved to return to the French settlements.

Hennepin says (page 256):

The great chief of the Issati or Nadouessiouz consented, and traced in pencil on paper I gave him, the route we were to take for four hundred leagues of the way. With this chart, we set out, eight Frenchmen in two canoes, and descended the rivers St. Francis and Colbert [Rum River and the Mississippi].

Professor Upham has marked this quotation as "first known map of any part of Minnesota, drafted for Hennepin by the chief of the Issati, * * from Mille Lac to the Wisconsin River and to Green Bay."

For this inquiry the record left by Hennepin is particularly valuable.

The descriptions of customs and practices, and the names of the nation, confirm Radisson's statement that he visited the Sioux, and they also furnish certain data which are reliable, because incidental, by which identification of archaeological material discovered at Mille Lac is now accomplished.

The most potent and pointed references made by Hennepin are particularly referred to.

At the mouth of St. Croix River the Frenchmen saw a sacrificial burial, after which they called the stream Tomb River.

Hennepin says (page 202):

* * * where we found only the skeleton of the Indian whom I mentioned above, the bears having eaten the flesh, and pulled up the poles which the deceased's relatives had planted in form of a monument. One of our boatmen found a war-calumet beside the grave and an earthen pot upset * * *.

At page 216 he describes how a "wily savage [Sioux] had the bones of some important deceased relative, which he preserved with

great care." As Hennepin approached Mille Lac the Sioux forcibly divided up the remaining merchandise with promises of payment. He says (page 222):

The reason of the violence was that this party was made up from two different tribes, the more distant of whom, fearing lest the others should retain all the goods in the first villages which they would have to pass, wished to take their share in advance. * * *

The statement indicates plainly that there was a tribe of Sioux above and beyond the south end of Mille Lac. After describing, at page 225, how they were obliged to wade knee-deep in water through marshes, after which the five wives of one of them took the party in canoes to an island where their cabins were, Hennepin says:

Aquipaguetin's son, who called me his brother, paraded about with our brocade chausable on his bare back, having rolled up in it a dead man's bones, for whom these people had a great veneration.

Hennepin states that "the Assiniboines were then only seven or eight days distant to the *northeast* of us," which they heard of from ambassadors. That would place the Assiniboines in 1680 not far westerly from the extremity of Lake Superior. An important statement is made at page 242:

Our whole stock was fifteen charges of powder, a gun, a wretched little earthen pot which the Indians had given us, a knife and a beaver robe. * * * Without cleaning the slime from these monstrous fish [page 250], we cut them in pieces and roasted them on the coals, our only little earthen pot having been broken. * * * Before the Europeans went to America [page 325] the Indians used, and all the nations of Louisiana still use to this day [1680], earthen pots instead of kettles, sharpened stones, having no axes or knives. They put small stones in a split stick and a certain bone which is above the heel of the elk to serve as an awl. They have no fire-arms, but only bows and arrows. * * * When they wish to make a platter, bowl or spoons, they trim the wood with their stone hatchets.

The greatest archaeological value found in Hennepin's narrative, as applied to Minnesota, consists of definite statements that he found

Sioux Indians at Mille Lac using earthen pots, bows and arrows, stone implements, and that they carried to their cabins the bones of their dead after the flesh had been removed.

CARVER'S TRAVELS.

Mr. John Goadby Gregory, in No. 5, *Parkman Club Publications*, 1896, has concisely, and valuably so, discussed the career of Captain Jonathan Carver, who, in 1766 and 1767, penetrated the Upper Mississippi Region.

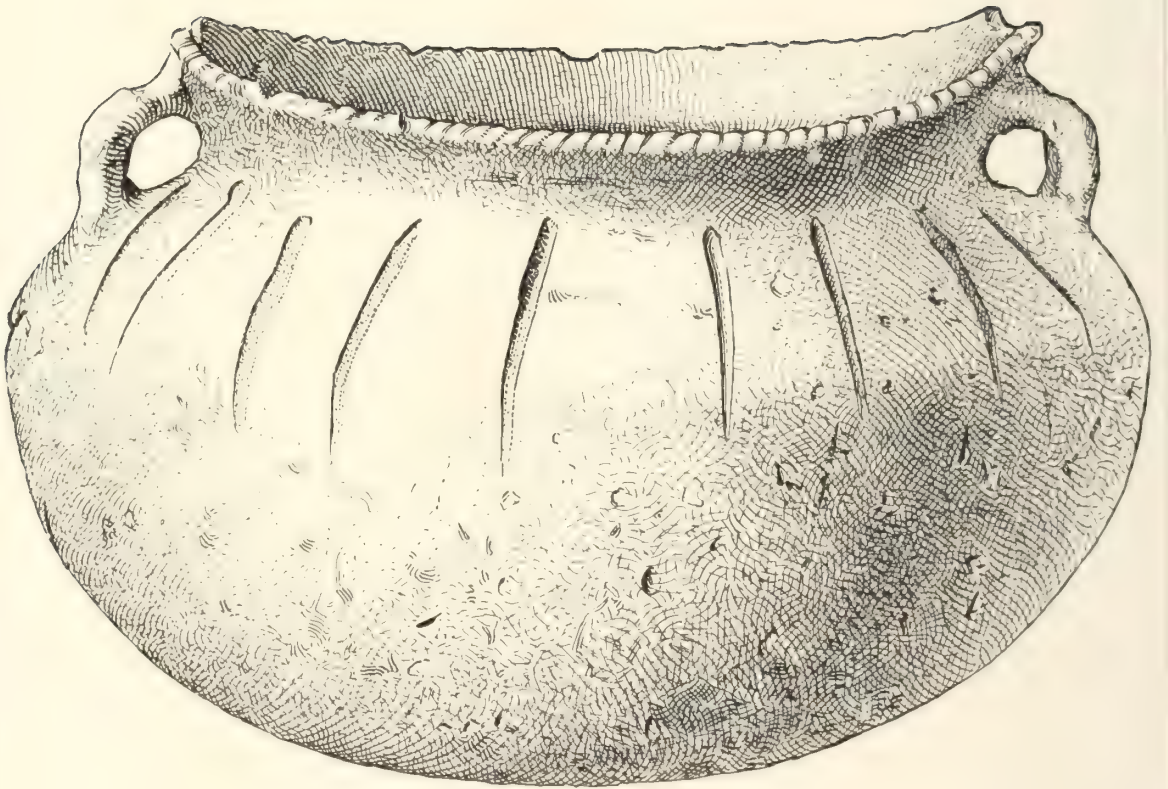
With the criticisms which have been hurled against an early explorer, who, 134 years ago, braved the hardships, privations and dangers of a winter in the valley of the "Waddapaw Menesotor," from which Minnesota probably derives its name, no sympathy is expressed here.

The results of his observations, carefully considered, are now most timely and instructive.

That portion of his published accounts which particularly relate to the Sioux bands of Indians which he visited have been scrutinized with unusual care.

October 19, 1766, he left the mouth of the Wisconsin River with one canoe, a Frenchman and a Mohawk Indian. At Lake Pepin he saw the ruins of Captain St. Pierre's trading post, and took up the study of ancient earthworks, with indifferent success. About November 10th he discovered Carver's Cave, called Wakon-teebe, since obliterated by the construction of railroads at Daytons Bluff, City of St. Paul. At this point, situated on the crest of the bluff and overlooking the Mississippi, there is a group of mounds at the point near the cave where the Sioux brought the remains of their dead for burial, and all that Carver says about that fact is important, although at one stage of the sepulchral ceremonies and performances they seemed to consider Carver's presence as distasteful, if not unwelcome, and, presumably for that reason, Carver does not more fully describe the scene which he only partially comprehended:

At a little distance from this dreary cavern is the burying place of several bands of Naudowessie Indians; though these people have no fixed



EARTHEN POT FOUND AT A CAVING SAND BANK IN RUM RIVER, NEAR MILACA,
MILLE LACS COUNTY, MINNESOTA. $\frac{1}{2}$.



POT SHARDS FROM MILLE LAC AND RUM RIVER.

(Slightly Reduced Size).



residence, living in tents, and abiding but a few months on one spot, yet they always bring the bones of their dead to this place; which they take the opportunity of doing when the chiefs meet to hold their councils and to settle all public affairs for the ensuing summer. (Page 65).

After referring to the fact that the Sioux wore many sea shells, which partly accounts for the existence of cowry shells at old Indian village sites in Minnesota, Carver says (page 233):

The Naudowessies make the pots in which they boil their victuals of black clay or stone mentioned in my Journal; which resists the effects of the fire nearly as well as iron.

He also elaborately describes the use of flint for weapons and illustrates his memoir by a plate showing the uses of the same; gives a good description of scaffold and tree burials, and relates how, when by death the relatives mourned, "the women cut and gashed their legs with sharp broken flints." (Page 403).

No one need argumentatively to disregard Carver's words where he describes customs actually observed, in 1767, when he saw the Sioux Indians burying human bones, making clay pots, using flint knives and wearing sea shells.

Where are these Sioux bones, the clay pots, flint knives and cowry shells observed near St. Paul by Carver?

Exactly similar objects, recovered from the sites of the ancient M'de-wakan villages, have been identified.

LONG AND KEATING.

The published accounts of the two expeditions up the Mississippi under command of Long, 1817 and 1823, have been examined.

Keating, author of the *Narrative*, in two volumes, preserved many excellent references relating to certain habits of the Sioux. One statement (page 271) describes a Menomonie Indian visiting Red Wing in 1823, who wore a necklace of cowry shells. He also ascribed the tumuli on the hill back of Red Wing's village as ancient cemeteries.

Continuing his interesting narration descriptive of burial customs and practices, he says:

As they do not bury their dead, but dispose of them on scaffolds, they seem to be unacquainted with the ancient practice of interring.

After stating that Augustin Roque, the interpreter, was not entirely satisfactory, he describes a place of Sioux burial (page 299) as follows:

The cemetery is on the banks of the river, but elevated above the water level; it exhibits several scaffolds supporting coffins of the rudest form. Sometimes a trunk (purchased from a trader), at other times a blanket, or a roll of bark, conceals the body of the deceased. There were, also, several graves, in which are probably deposited the bones, after all the softer parts have been resolved into their elements by long exposure to the atmosphere.

With the assistance of the well known interpreter, Joseph Renville, Keating, at pages 406-407, Volume I., perpetuated statements of Sioux Indians now particularly valuable:

The Dacotas have no tradition of having ever emigrated, from any other place, to the spot upon which they now reside; they believe that they were created by the Supreme Being on the land which they at present occupy.

Of the origin of white men they have no idea, having never reflected upon the subject; they have preserved a faint tradition of their first meeting with a white man, but who this was, and when it took place, they are unable to tell. They believe that he was a Frenchman, and that he was first discovered by a party of Mende Wah Kantoan; as soon as the Dacotas saw him they were much surprised at his dress and complexion; they took him prisoner, secured him and brought him to their camp. He had in his hand a gun. By means of signs they asked him the use of that instrument; he pointed out to them that with it he could take away the life of any object he pleased; they then placed a man before him, challenging him to the proof of what he had advanced; upon his refusal to do it, they placed a dog before him, which he immediately shot and killed. Terrified at the report of the gun they all ran off, considering him as the spirit of the thunder; as he remained there, they returned to him, called him by the name of Thunder and held him in great awe and veneration. Their first discovery by white men is referred by Charlevoix to the year 1660, when he states that they were met by two Frenchmen

MILLE LAC. PLATE XXVI.



SIOUX TREE BURIAL.

From a Photograph by D. F. Barry.

proceeding west from Lake Superior. * * * They appear to have no tradition or knowledge of the Lemmi-Lenape, Aligawi, or other nations that were found east of the Allegheny Mountains.

As many calcined human bones have been discovered in Minnesota, Keating throws some light on that subject, at page 409, when he says that "human sacrifices are not known to have ever been resorted to, except in one instance about forty years prior to 1823, when an Ojibway child, taken prisoner, was offered up to the spirit of the



A SCAFFOLD BURIAL OF THE SIOUX.

devil to insure success in war." The Sioux, in case of necessity, burned the flesh from the bodies of deceased relatives in order to preserve the bones.

Another statement, that at Weakote, on St. Peters River, after the Sioux corpses have remained a certain time exposed on scaffolds they are taken down and interred. Renville, the interpreter and guide, related (page 346) "that he personally witnessed an Indian scrape the flesh off from the bones of his own son, and, throwing the flesh into



PEZI (CHIEF GALLE).

TYPICAL DAKOTA INDIAN.

From a Copyright Photograph by D. E. Barry.

the stream, removed the bones to his residence." The route of travel up the Minnesota River to Big Stone and Traverse Lakes and down the Red River of the North gave the chronicler of Major Long's expedition an excellent opportunity to observe the customs of the Indians, and on reaching the Ojibway country they found a band named "White Fire Stone," derived from a rock from which they supplied themselves with flint.

CATLIN'S OBSERVATIONS.

Attention is now especially directed to a careful consideration of the pointed and convincing words of George Catlin, the distinguished painter of Indian portraits, whose volumes show that he visited forty-eight tribes during his eight years' labor among the western nations, from 1832 to 1840.

His visits to Fort Pierre and the Pipestone Quarry, at the beginning and nearer the end of his long journey, definitely revealed and preserved to history three facts, pertinent to this inquiry:

First—That the Sioux Indian made and used stone implements.

Second—They were the authors of hieroglyphics.

Third—They constructed earthen mounds and fortifications.

The following extracts are taken from Catlin's *North American Indians*, edition of 1857; most pertinent and reliable as to certain customs of the Dakota nation:

In his native simplicity he [the Sioux Indian] shapes out his rude hatchet from a piece of stone, heads his arrows and spears with flints; and his knife is a sharpened bone, or the edge of a broken silex. (Page 360, Volume I.).

Further along and over an extended plain are seen, like gopher hills, their excavations, ancient and recent, and on the surface of the rocks, various marks and their sculptured heiroglyphics—their wakons, totems and medicines—subjects numerous and interesting for the antiquary or the merely curious. Graves, mounds and ancient fortifications lie in sight. (Page 640, Volume II.).

The medicine (or leaping rock) is a part of the precipice which has become severed from the main part, standing about seven or eight feet

MILLE LAC. PLATE XXVIII.



OJIBWAY BARK CABINS.

Mille Lac.



VIEW AT REEL POINT, WEST SHORE.

VIEW AT NICHOLS POINT, NORTH SHORE.

from the wall [at Pipestone Quarry], just equal in height, and about seven feet in diameter.

It stands like an immense column of thirty-five feet high, and highly polished on its top and sides. It requires a daring effort to leap on to its top from the main wall, and back again, and many a heart has sighed for the honor of the feat without daring to make the attempt. Some few have tried it with success, and left their arrows standing in its crevice, several of which are seen there at this time; others have leapt the chasm



KAW-WE-TAH-SAY.

Ojibway Indian, Mille Lac Band, wounded at Battle of Shakopee.

May 27, 1858.

and fallen from the slippery surface on which they could not hold, and suffered instant death upon the craggy rocks below. Every young man in the nation is ambitious to perform this feat; and those who have successfully done it are allowed to boast of it all their lives.

In the sketch already exhibited, there will be seen a view of the "leaping rock"; and in the middle of the picture, a mound, of a conical form, of ten feet high, which was erected over the body of a distinguished young

man who was killed by making this daring effort [leaping to the top of the rock], about two years before I was there, and whose sad fate was related to me by a Sioux chief, who was father of the young man, and was visiting the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, with thirty others of his tribe, when we were there, and cried over the grave, as he related the story to Mr. Wood and myself, of his son's death. (Note, page 652, Volume II.).

It is proper to state that in Catlin's time the Dakota people had forcibly taken possession of the pipestone quarries, which were for unknown ages theretofore held as a gift from the "Great Spirit" to all the tribes, and it seems almost a certainty that most nations of North American Indians drew material for a portion of their pipes from its deposits. In Coronado's time, 1541, the Pawnees on the Kansas and Blue rivers, indulged in its use.

Catlin's *North American Indian Portfolio*, London, no date, indicates the use of numerous stone implements among the Plains Indians as late as 1830, which are severally illustrated therein in colored plates.

NICOLLET'S EXPLORATIONS.

Jean N. Nicollet, the scholarly and distinguished astronomer, in the employ of the United States, while gathering material and information for the construction of his great chart of the Upper Mississippi, called the Sioux "Ndakotahs," and Mille Lac "Minsi Sagaigoning."

In his Report, 1843, page 14, describing his march toward the "Indian Red Pipestone Quarry," the following pertinent statements were made:

The Sioux take advantage of these loose materials to erect signals on the most elevated spots, or to designate the place by some conical structure, where some exhausted hunter has died on the prairies, and desires to be buried in a more prominent situation, or they amuse themselves in shaping them [the stones] into fantastic figures. * * Lastly, by way of illustration to what I have said above of the usages of the Sioux, I may add, that, on the western side of the aforesaid wiwi, and on the most elevated crest of the Coteau, there is a great accumulation of the materials belonging to the erratic deposits, of which they have availed themselves to construct the effigy of a man; so that the spot is



NISH-OBE-NES EQUA (TWO FEMALE BIRDS)

BASH ECTUM IG (LAND LINE)

NAGWANABE (FEATHERS ENDE)

Oldest Members of Milie-Lae Band

called *tuyan-witchashta-karapi*; in English, the place where has been built up a man of stone. We have now arrived in the vicinity of the valley where the Red Pipestone Quarry is found. * * On our way, after having reconnoitered distinct marks of a buffalo path, we unexpectedly fell upon a circular breastwork of about 2,000 feet in circumference, and sufficiently elevated to protect the bodies of those who are defending themselves within. The principal entrance is still marked by the places where the chiefs or principal personages of the nation had their lodges, the situation of these always indicating, not only the main access to the camp, but also the direction whence the enemy was advancing. Two miles farther on, accordingly, we met with another camp of similar character. As the system of fortifications was on neither side more complicated than just described, it would seem they had been erected during a long talk, the result of which might lead to war. * * * The Sioux have lost the reminiscences of these camps, and merely conjecture that they were occupied during the settlement of difficulties between the Titons and Yanktons.

At page 54 Nicollet discloses the secret of the wonderful accuracy accomplished in delineating on his chart many lakes, rivers, creeks and islands which he did not see or visit.

Francis Brunet was the man who described the region and gave the names for record, and but for Nicollet's own words that fact might have been lost to history, and it particularly relates to the region of the "Thousand Lakes" surrounding Mille Lac, the principal water. Nicollet said:

I spent a week on the borders of this beautiful sheet of water [Leech Lake], my tent being most generally pitched on Otter-tail Point. This was the residence of my principal guide, Francis Brunet, a man six feet three inches high—a giant of great strength, but at the same time full of the milk of human kindness, and, withal, an excellent natural geographer.

OJIBWAY TRADITIONS.

Warren's History of the Ojibways, Volume V., *Minnesota Historical Collections*, contains statements of fact, impartially written in 1850-52 by an Indian, which have an important bearing upon the questions treated of in this *Memoir*.

It is generally conceded that the Ojibway Indians in ancient times were inhabitants of the Atlantic coast, not far remote from the mouth



BE-DUD AND SHING-OB.

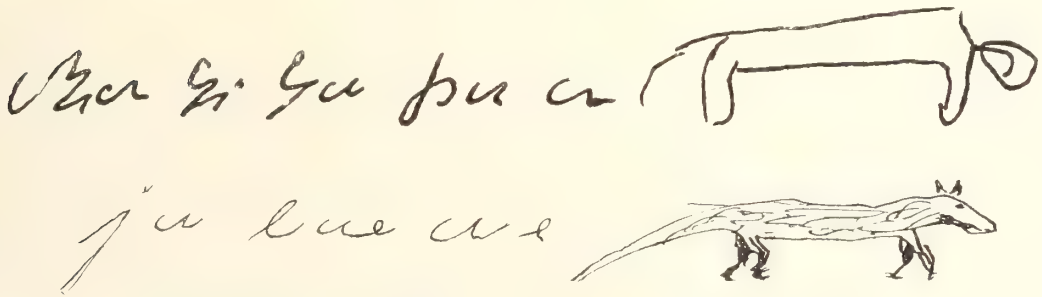
NA GWA NA-BE AND AISH-PUN.

Head Men of Mille Lac Band.

of St. Lawrence River, and that the migration westward occupied a long period of time. They call themselves An-ish-in-aub-ag—spontaneous man—and the true meaning of the name Ojibway, as given by Warren, is “To roast till puckered up,” originating from the practice of torturing by fire (page 36).

In 1660 they were resident about Lake Superior, in immediate contact with the more numerous Dakota Indians, against whom they maintained a war, with only short durations of peace, until 1862, during which time their conquests converted to their own possession the timbered region from Lake Superior to Red River Valley, across the northern half of Minnesota.

The exact date when the Ojibway war party marched from the western extremity of Lake Superior to Mille Lac, and forcibly drove



OJIBWAY SIGNATURES.

"O-DO-DAIM-UNS."

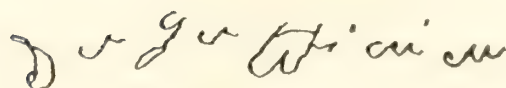
out the Spirit Lake Villagers, cannot now be accurately stated. Warren says it was five generations preceding 1852, or about 1750.

The Ojibway tradition of this occurrence is of vital importance to the history of Mille Lac, and is perpetuated by Warren (page 157), as follows:

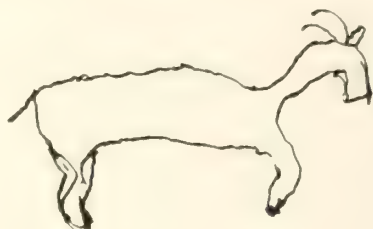
* * * It is further stated that through the influence of the early French traders who first built posts in their country, among whom may be mentioned as most conspicuous the names of Nicholas Perrot and Le Sueur, "the Dakotas began to be led away from the rice grounds of the Mille Lacs region."

Tradition among the Ojibways says otherwise. They deny that the influence of the traders could induce the Mdewakantons to evacuate such

a desirable point in their country as Mille Lacs, a spot covered with their permanent earthen wigwams, and the resting place of their forefathers. Our own experience of the great love and attachment which the red race has ever shown to their ancient village sites, would cause us to doubt



SA-GUTCH-U.



CARIBOO TOTEM.

this assertion on the part of the Dakotas. It is sooner to be believed that the same force which has caused them to relinquish, step by step, all their former country east of the Mississippi during the course of the past two or three centuries, operated to drive them from this, their strongest hold of olden times.

The manner in which the Ojibways first came into possession of Mille Lacs, is vividly related by their old men, and this event forms a prominent item in the course of their past history. The tradition of this occurrence is briefly as follows, taken by the writer from the lips of one of their most truth-telling sages, who is now a resident of Mille Lacs, and who is the descendant of a long line of noted chiefs:

TRADITION OF THE TAKING OF MILLE LACS BY THE OJIBWAYS.

Five generations ago, shortly after the Ojibways residing on the shores of Lake Superior had commenced to obtain fire-arms and ammunition of the old French traders, a firm peace existed between them and the Dakotas, who then resided on the head waters of the Mississippi and the midland country which lay between this river and the Great Lake.

Good-will existed between the two tribes, and the roads to their villages were clear and unobstructed. Peace-parties of the Dakotas visited the wigwams of the Ojibways, and the Ojibways, in like manner, visited the Tepees and earthen lodges of the Dakotas. The good feeling existing between them was such, that intermarriages even took place between them.

It appears, however, impossible, that these two powerful tribes should ever remain long in peace with each other. On this occasion the war-club was lain buried but a few winters, when it was again violently dug up, and the ancient feud raged more fiercely than ever.

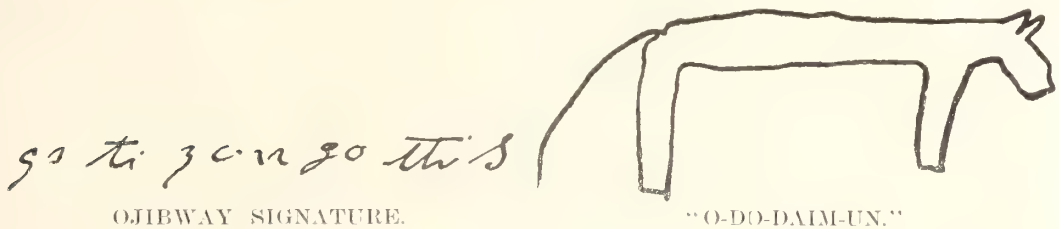
Ill-will was first created in the breasts of the two tribes against one another through a quarrel which happened between an Ojibway and a Dakota gallant, respecting a woman whom they both courted. The woman was a Dakota, and

the affair took place at a village of her people. Of her two suitors she preferred the Ojibway, and the rejected gallant, in revenge, took the life of his successful rival. This act, however, did not result in immediate hostilities; it only reminded the warriors that they *had once been enemies*; it requires a more aggravating cause than this to break the ties which several years of good understanding and social intercourse had created between them, and this cause was not long in forthcoming.

There was an old man residing at Fond du Lac of Lake Superior, which place had at this time, already become an important village of the Ojibways. This old man was looked upon by his people with much respect and consideration: though not a chief, he was a great hunter, and his lodge ever abounded in plenty. He belonged to the Marten Totem family. He was blessed with four sons, all of whom were full grown and likely men, "fair to look upon." They were accustomed to make frequent visits to the villages of the Dakotas, and they generally returned laden with presents, for the young women of their tribe looked on them with wistful and longing eyes.

Shortly after the quarrel about the woman had taken place, which resulted in the death of an Ojibway, the four brothers paid the Dakotas one of their usual peaceful visits: they proceeded to their great town at Mille Lac, which was but two days from their own villages. During this visit, one of the brothers was treacherously murdered, and but three returned with safety to their father's wigwam.

The old man did not even complain when he heard that their former enemies had sent his son to travel on the Spirit road: and shortly after, when his three surviving sons asked his permission to go again to enter the lodges of the Dakotas, he told them to go, "for probably," said he, "they have taken the life of my son by mistake." The brothers proceeded as before to Mille Lac, and on this occasion, two of them were again treacherously killed, and but one returned



to the wigwam of his bereaved father. The fount of the old man's tears still did not open, though he blacked his face in mourning and his head hung down in sorrow.

Once more his sole surviving son requested to pay the Dakotas a peace visit, that he might look on the graves of his deceased brethren. His sorrow stricken parent said to him, "go, my son, for probably they have struck your brothers by mistage." Day after day rolled over, till the time came when he had promised to return. The days, however, kept rolling on, and the young man returned

not to cheer the lonely lodge of his father. A full moon passed over and still he made not his appearance, and the old man became convinced that the Dakotas had sent him to join his murdered brethren in the land of Spirits. Now, for the first time, the bereaved father began to weep, the fount of his tears welled forth bitter drops, and he mourned bitterly for his lost children.

"An Ojibway warrior never throws away his tears," and the old man determined to have revenge. For two years he busied himself in making preparations. With the fruits of his hunts he procured ammunition and other materials for a

war party. He sent his tobacco and war-club to the remotest villages of his people, detailing his wrong and inviting them to collect by a certain day at Fond du Lac, to go with him in "*search* for his lost children." His summons was promptly and numerously obeyed, and nearly all the men of his tribe residing on the shores of the Great Lake, collected by the appointed time at Fond du Lac. Their scalping knives had long rusted in disuse, and the warriors were eager once more to stain them with the blood of their old enemy.

Having made the customary preparations, and invoked the Great Spirit to their aid, this large war party which the old man had collected, left Fond du Lac, and followed the trail towards Mille Lac, which was then considered the stronghold of their enemies, and where the blood which they went to revenge had been spilt. The Dakotas occupied the lake in two large villages, one being located on Cormorant Point, and the other at the outlet of the lake. A few miles below



CHIEF WAH WE-YAY-CUM-IG.

Mille Lac Band of Ojibway Indians.

this last village, they possessed another considerable village on a smaller lake, connected with Mille Lac by a portion of Rum River which run through it. These villages consisted mostly of earthen wigwams such as are found still to be in use among the Arickarees and other tribes residing on the Upper Missouri.

The vanguard of the Ojibways fell on the Dakotas at Cormorant Point early in the morning, and such was the extent of the war party, that before the rear had arrived, the battle at this point had already ended by the almost total

extermination of its inhabitants; a small remnant only, retired in their canoes to the greater village located at the entry. This, the Ojibways attacked with all their forces; after a brave defense with their bows and barbed arrows, the Dakotas took refuge in their earthen lodges from the more deadly weapons of their enemy.

The only manner by which the Ojibways could harass and dislodge them from these otherwise secure retreats, was to throw small bundles or bags of powder into the aperture made in the top of each, both for the purpose of giving light within, and emitting the smoke of the wigwam fire. The bundles ignited by the fire, spread death and dismay among the miserable beings who crowded within. Not having as yet, like the more fortunate Ojibways, been blessed with the presence of white traders, the Dakotas were still ignorant of the nature of gunpowder, and the idea possessing their minds that their enemies were aided by spirits, they gave up the fight in despair and were easily dispatched. But a remnant retired during the darkness of night to their last remaining village on the smaller lake. Here they made their last stand, and the Ojibways following them up, the havoc among their ranks was continued during the whole course of another day.

The next morning the Ojibways wishing to renew the conflict, found the village evacuated by the few who had survived their victorious arms. They had fled during the night down the river in their canoes, and it became a common saying that the former dwellers of Mille Lacs became, by this three days' struggle, swept away for ever from their favorite village sites. The remains of their earthen wigwams are still plainly visible in great numbers on the spots where these events are said to have occurred; they are now mostly covered by forests of maple trees. The Ojibways assert as a proof of this tradition, that whenever they have dug into these mounds, which they occasionally do, they have discovered human bones in great abundance and lying scattered promiscuously in the soil, showing that they had not been regularly buried, but



MANDY WAH-WE-YAY-CUM-IG.

Head Chief's Wife.



VIEW AT SA-GA-WA-MICK BAY.

OJIBWAY GRAVES AT WIGWAM BAY.

were cut in pieces and scattered about, as Indians always treat those they slay in battle.

It is well to state here, that some of the old men who relate this tradition, give the name of O-maum-ee to the former dwellers of Mille Laes, and they further assert that these people were totally exterminated on this occasion. The more intelligent affirm that they were the Ab-o-in or Dakotas, who having their principal village on a peninsula, or Min-a-waum, were known in those days by the name of O-maum-ee. This, connected with the fact afforded us by the early French explorers, Hennepin, Du Luth and Le Sueur, that the Mde'wakantons were former dwellers of Mille Laes, is sufficient to prove the identity of the people whom the Ojibways drove from its possession.

Ojibway tradition further states that the Dakotas who had been driven from Mille Laes, made another village on Rum River, and that they did not finally leave this region of country till about the year 1770, after their great expedition or war party to the head-waters of the Mississippi, which resulted in the battle of Crow Wing.

Ancient lodge circles of earth were discovered at Mille Lac in May, 1900, as will be shown.

Further significant extracts from Warren's History are as follows:

Esh-ke-bug-e-coshe [Flat Mouth], whom I have already mentioned as the truth-telling and respected chief of the Pillagers, still living, and now in his seventy-eighth year, informs me that in the course of his lifetime he has made numerous war parties and peace visits to different tribes who live on the banks of the Upper Missouri River. He states, that a tribe who are known to the Ojibways by the name of Gi-aucth-in-in-e-wug, signify "men of the olden time," and named by the French, Gros Ventres, claim to have been formerly possessors of the country from which the Mississippi takes its rise. Their old men relate they were forced or driven from this country by the powerful Dakotas, who have in turn given way to the Ojibways. (Page 178).

At page 231, Warren says of the battle of Crow Wing:

The Ojibways, however, defended themselves so obstinately that they eventually forced their enemies to retreat. Having suffered a severe loss, the Dakota warriors returned to their villages, and for fear that the Ojibways would retaliate, by making a similar incursion into their country, the Mde'-wak-an-ton section of the tribe evacuated the Rum River country, and moved to the Minnesota River.

After the complete subjugation of the Spirit Lake villagers and their retirement from Rum River, the Ojibways, previous to the year

1800, forcibly assumed possession of Leech, Winnibigoshish and Red lakes, and finally extended their ramifications as far as Sauk River, the Otter Tail region, and Northeastern North Dakota.

As there are a large number of formidable embankments of earth at and near Mille Lac, artificially constructed by Indians, the following description by Warren, page 328, is particularly valuable as a reference concerning the manner in which Sioux Indians fortified their camp on Sunrise River, in the Valley of the St. Croix:

Mons-o-man-ay * * collected a large party of warriors, and when the snow melted from the ground, he followed the trail of the Dakotas as they returned towards their villages on the Mississippi. He caught up with their camp, at a prairie on Sunrise River. They numbered many lodges, and around their camp they had thrown up an embankment of earth about four feet high. * * * The

O-GIT-UB'S SIGNATURE.



CARIBOU "O-DO-DAIM-UN."

Ojibways ran up to the Dakota defences, from behind which they fired repeated volleys into the defenceless lodges within, thus turning to their own advantage the embankment of earth which the enemy had formed with such great labor.

Warren also particularly describes another fortification, page 356, as follows:

For a number of years, on the headwaters of Thief River (which empties into Red River below Otter Tail Lake), a camp of ten Dakota lodges, succeeded in holding the country by evading or escaping the search of the Ojibway war parties. Here, loth to leave their rich hunting grounds, they lived from year to year in continual dread of an attack from their conquering foes. They built a high embankment of earth, for defence, around their lodges, and took every means in their power to escape the notice of the Ojibways—even discarding the use of the gun on account of its loud report, and using the primitive bow and arrows in killing such game as they needed. They were, however, at last discovered by

their enemies. The Crees and Assineboines, during a short peace which they made with the Dakotas, learned of their existence and locality, and informing the Ojibways, a war party was raised, who went in search of them. They were discovered encamped within their earthen inclosure, and after a brave but unavailing defence with their bows and arrows, the ten lodges, with their inmates, were entirely destroyed. The embankment of earth is said, by Wa-won-je-quon, the chief of Red Lake (who is my informant on this subject), to be plainly visible. From this circumstance, the Ojibways named the stream (the headwaters of which the Dakotas had so long secretly occupied), Ke-moj-ake-se-be, literally meaning, "Secret Earth River," which the French, pronouncing Ke-mod-ake, meaning Stealing Earth, has been interpreted into Thief River, by which name it is laid down on Nicollet's Map.

The reliability of Warren's information, obtained under circumstances which were devoid of mercenary purposes, is the best proof available that Sioux Indians actually constructed earthen inclosures in Minnesota during the earliest historic period.

HISTORIAN OF DAKOTA INDIANS.

James White Lynd, according to the *Memoirs* of Rev. S. R. Riggs (Volumes II. and III., Minnesota Historical Collections), came to Minnesota in 1853. His career was short, brilliant and unfortunate. Born at Baltimore, Maryland, and educated at Covington, Kentucky, he early satisfied an intense desire to study Indian life and manners by an actual residence among the Dakota people, from 1853 to 1862, the year of his death. He settled in Minnesota Valley with the Indians, where, mastering their language, as a result of long continued labors, he prepared an elaborate history of the Dakota tribes. His manuscripts were completed and ready for publication at the date of the Sioux massacre in 1862, at which time he was the first man killed at the Lower Sioux Agency. The trunk in which his manuscripts were deposited, in the building where he was shot, seems to have been the subject of a raid for spoils, and as the Indians did not know the value of the rolls of manuscripts they were scattered to destruction, and afterwards partially used for cleaning the muskets of the soldiers. That portion of Mr. Lynd's history relating to the story of Dakota origin and



MOUND AT SA-GA-WA-MICK.

Ojibway Intrusive Burials on Crest.

Where Ojibway villages now exist at mound-groups on the shore of Mille Lac it is customary to intrude at the summit of selected mounds many recent Indian interments, boxed over or fenced in as shown in illustration.

habitat, mortuary customs and legends, is only partially preserved; and the few detached and scattered sheets deposited with the Historical Society at St. Paul, do not disclose many important evidences now very much desired for this careful and painstaking labor in tracing the Sioux back to their ancient customs.

The following are abstracts from available sheets recovered from the oblivion which overtook the Lynd history:

The whole number of the Sioux proper is 28,000. They are divided into numerous tribes, and these again into bands, each under its own particular chief. Of these tribes there are seven, and in consequence they are accustomed to call themselves the Oceti Xakowin, or Seven Council Fires. The first tribe of these is: M'dewakantonwans, or Those who have their village at the Spirit Lake, a name given to them on account of their former residence at M'de Wakan or Spirit Lake, one of the group composing Mille Lac. This tribe has always occupied the easternmost part of the Sioux country and has ever borne the brunt of war between the Algonquin and Dakota races.

These people constitute, emphatically, the home band of the Sioux who live on the line of the Mississippi, whose ancient village sites constitute the nucleus of the rising settlements of Minnesota [Indian settlements].

There is a tradition among the Ihanktons (Sioux) that they were once a powerful nation, but that by intermarriages and intrigue they were separated and incorporated with their neighbors who spoke a cognate language.

In Rigg's curtailed notice, page 169:

Had the Dakota nations been localized in the same manner [as Peruvians], perhaps the same thing [mummies] would have occurred among them. [Note, same page.] The placing of dead bodies on scaffolds—a temporary preservation of them—seems to have the same object in view, as far as their mode of life admits of it. Acquaintance with the Dakotas shows that they have an hereditary and universal opposition to burying their dead under ground until it is absolutely necessary, from the rapidity of decay, to do so.

Mr. Lynd's writings contained a chapter on the "Early History" of the Dakota people, but he does not seem to have succeeded to his entire satisfaction, for Mr. Riggs has five or six lines copied from the



VIEW AT NICHOLS BAY, MILLE LAC.

SCENE AT SHORE VIEW BAY.

manuscripts, concluding the chapter as follows, but the preceding portion was not printed:

One thing is evident through this ancient gloom. A great *past idea*, that has no reference to the present state of the Indian, is still *self-existent* in him, and points with unmistakable finger to an origin beyond the land of his later inheritance. But it passes over him like a dream in a dream, and seems enwrapped in the mantle of silence.

From one portion of the manuscripts the following, now first published, is of interest:

EARLY HISTORY.

Were it possible to trace out a history of the Dakotas, or of any North American race, which should embrace not only a recital of the wanderings of such race up to the present time, but also a history of its manners, customs and institutions, such a history would indeed be interesting and instructive to all. But time has buried all possibility of our obtaining so complete a record of the aborigines, and all that can be done is to use the material offered as a basis of inference, and draw such conclusions as least conflict with probability. From the rude, and, in many cases, distorted forms of tradition occurring among an unlettered people, it is impossible to draw anything like connection; and the traditions of the Dakotas form no exception. The early history of the race is in fact a history of obscurities. We may trace them back, by the dim light of tradition, for a few years—beyond the time when they first saw the white man, or, farther still, beyond the time when the idea of a New World first fastened itself in the brain of the Genoese—ever hoping to arrive at some clue by which to refer them to their primal homes; but all becomes dark, and the mind retreats from the obscurity of the past to the palpable present.

The traditions of the Dakotas that refer to very early periods of their history are few. None of them can be traced beyond this continent. Many of them have a reference to customs and modes of life which do not exist among them at the present day; and in some of these we can often trace the outlines of late intercourse with the whites, which gives them an unnatural color. Frequently, indeed, stories which they have heard from the whites, are related by them (after receiving the peculiar color of Indian ideas), as legends of their own; and castles and giants figure among them with Arabian fertility, passing current with many as *bona fide* Indian legends. To traditions of this character no credit can be given; for it is impossible to say where or when the foreign elements in them begin or cease. Even those portions of them which relate to Dakota customs alone, as they are found to exist among them at the present day [1862], should be received with some doubt and careful examination, since many of their customs are *intrusives* derived from other races. The Indian mind is so fertile in creative



OTTEWAY RUSSIAN BATH, SA-GA-WA-MICK BAY.



OTTEWAY MOCCASIN GAME, SA-GA-WA-MICK BAY.

imagination, and so skilful in weaving the parts of apparently incongruous narrative together, that caution in accrediting is not only important but necessary. * * * At what time they fixed their residence upon the headwaters of the Mississippi and Lake Superior, the month—the year—the century—human being of the present day cannot tell.

Of such was the knowledge of the oldest chiefs and head men when the Lynd history was written.

THE TOWN OF KATHIO.

Although Du Luth reported but little in his writings which disclose the true conditions of life among the Sioux, at Mille Lac, in 1679, there is yet some information now particularly valuable, no less than the identification of the locality of the first known name of a village in the region discussed, and adjacent less important Indian settlements of that date.

Professor Upham has described advantageously some of Du Luth's movements, whereby the location of ancient Kathio has been quite certainly determined:

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ST. PAUL, September 4, 1900.

HONORABLE J. V. BROWER,

DEAR SIR:—The following notes concerning Kathio, the oldest town known by name within the area of Minnesota, give the evidence, or expression of opinion, so far as I have been able to ascertain it, for assigning its location to the southwest side of Mille Lac.

Kathio was the name of a great village of the Sioux or Dakota people, which Du Luth visited in the region west of Lake Superior. He wrote to Frontenac that “on the 2nd July, 1679, he caused his Majesty's arms to be planted in the Great Village of the Nadoussioux, called Kathio, where no Frenchman had ever been.” The substance of this and other letters of Du Luth, as given by original French colonial documents in Paris, was copied by John Romeyn Brodhead and was published in 1855 (Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume IX., page 795).

Neill, in the fourth edition of his History of Minnesota (1882, page 810), says that this village was “perhaps at Sandy Lake.”

Professor N. H. Winchell, writing in 1884 (Geology of Minnesota, Final Report, Volume I., page 5), remarks that Kathio “can be no other



Du Luth and Hennepin probably furnished Franquelin with information upon which was based that portion of his chart which indicates in dotted marks, Sioux villages visited or heard of in 1679 and 1680, at Lac de Buade, the Mille Lac of the present time. The village sites can be fairly identified as follows:

1. At Malmø, Aitkin County, Minnesota.
2. At Nichols, same county.
3. At Wigwam Bay, Mille Lacs County, Minnesota.
4. At Shore View Bay, same county.
5. At Kathio, Shaub-ansh-kung Point.
6. Villages probably on Crow Wing River.
7. Village at Valley of St. Croix River.

than the great Nadouessioux settlement at Mille Lacs"; and his Historical Chart (Plate I. of the volume cited) locates Kathio on the southwest side of this lake, adjoining its outlet.

Dr. Elliott Coues, in 1895, gives the same location of Kathio, citing old maps as his authority (Explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Volume I., page 313). The accompanying "Historico-Geographical Chart of the Upper Mississippi River," based largely on notes supplied by the late Alfred J. Hill, also places Kathio there, as on Winchell's map and the map of Mille Lac in the present volume.

The numerous ancient maps in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, however, including those of Hennepin in 1683, Franquelin



VIEW AT SA-GA-WA-MICK.

(Ojibway Children at Crest of a Mound).

in 1688, and De L'Isle in 1703, have been examined in vain for any notation of Kathio. We are thus unable to cite the early maps, by the names of authors and by their dates, which first identified this great village, visited by Du Luth in 1679, as that of the Sioux near the outlet of Mille Lac.

We can accept this identification with confidence, because another narration by Du Luth gives the same date, July 2, 1679, and almost

the same words, describing his visit in "the great village of the Nadouesious, called Izatys." A translation of this narration was published by Shea in 1880 (Hennepin's Description of Louisiana, Appendix, page 375); and it has since been published in the original French (Margry Papers, Volume VI., 1886, page 22). The perfect agreement of this account with that given by Brodhead's translation from Du Luth shows that Kathio was the chief village of the Isanti (Izatys) tribe of the Sioux, who received their name from the Knife (Isan) river and lake, in Kanabec County, tributary by the Snake River to the St. Croix. From Knife Lake only one day's journey brought these Indians to their more populous settlements in the Mille Laes country, of which Kathio was the most important, being known as the "great village." This tribal name, variously spelled as Izatys, Issati, Isanti, etc., was well known to Hennepin, who called Mille Lac and the Rum River the lake and river of the Issati, although he does not record the name Kathio.

This is the oldest village name preserved in the history of what is now Minnesota. It seems very desirable, therefore, that it shall be restored to designate some new town adjoining the mouth of Mille Lac, to be built on or near the ancient Indian village site.

WARREN UPHAM, Secretary.

Warren, it will be remembered, referred to the Indian highway leading from the western extremity of Lake Superior to the Sioux villages at Mille Lac. There were at least three routes of ancient communication between those points: one by way of Sandy Lake and the Mississippi, one by way of St. Croix and Snake rivers, and an overland trail by way of Hanging Horns Lake and the head branches of Rice River, to Mille Lac at the Malmo mound group. This portage or trail was more recently used as a means of communication between Crow Wing and Old Superior, by way of the north shore of Mille Lac. Probably Du Luth, in 1679, traversed this trail as the shortest route of travel between Lake Superior and Kathio.

When Radisson penetrated the Sioux region in the winter of 1660, after a snowstorm, it is possible the same route may have been the course of his wanderings to the principal Dakota settlements, and it is not improbable that he visited Kathio, although he does not mention the name, which was apparently modified in pronunciation and distorted in spelling during Du Luth's time, as there does not appear to be any known adequate Sioux expression bearing resemblance to this old name;

a conclusion which has been reached after several consultations with Colonel Robert I. Holcombe, a learned linguistic student, and an examination of Riggs' dictionary of the Dakota language.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The entire mass of historic literature available at St. Paul, which discloses any pertinent references to the earliest customs of the Sioux Indians, or which throws light upon the identification of tribes who preceded them in the Northwest, has been examined with patient care and attention, and such abstracts as seemed best to aid a conservative statement of facts relating to the earliest history of Mille Lac, have been selected as a portion of the basis upon which to arrive at conclusions.

Geology, history and archæology have been combined, as awarding the best results of a more complete knowledge of ancient events in the Upper Basin of the Mississippi.

Errors of judgment and of all former opinions, committed at earlier stages of these investigations, must now be ignored and regretted as results too hastily conceived while contemplating perplexities and deliberating over such meager results as have been perpetuated in ignorance of at least a portion of the facts presented herein. The bibliography is of course too extensive to elaborate upon the pages of a small volume, but there are publications which have been quoted and acknowledged, too valuable to ignore for best results. An extended source of information has been found in the pages of the publications of the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of American Ethnology; Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Neill's *History of Minnesota*, Shaler's *Nature and Man in America*, the Forum article by Major J. W. Powell, published in February, 1898, entitled *Whence Came the American Indian?*; Professor F. W. Putnam's address, Volume XLVIII., *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*; Mooney's *Siouan Tribes of the East*, McGee's *Siouan Indians*, Gordon's *Legends of the Northwest*, that portion of Alfred J. Hill's unpublished manuscripts

which has been deposited with the Minnesota State Historical Society; Dr. Elliott Cones' valuable historical publications, by Francis W. Harper, with elaborate and copious commentary extensively enlarged by the late Alfred J. Hill; *Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota*, by Professor N. H. Winchell; Judge Charles E. Flandreau's *History of Minnesota*; and the innumerable volumes, largely augmented by early missionaries, which form the contents of a special case of books, relating in whole or in part to Minnesota and the Northwest, maintained by the Minnesota State Historical Society at St. Paul, as a collection of early narratives, and adventures among the Indian tribes, frontier occurrences, the Sioux massacre and military movements of 1862 and 1863, and numerous works of travel and observations, all of which form a quarry of about 500 useful and notable works, too numerous to mention in detail and too valuable to pass unconsulted and unnoticed.

Gordon's *Legends*, in the "notes," describes the Sioux calendar of time, based almost entirely upon meteorologic conditions applicable only to Minnesota and the Northwest, indicating a more ancient Sioux occupancy than has been generally presumed. The age of the Sioux calendar is amply exemplified by the condition of archæologic objects associated with the remains of the dead, comparable for identification with similar objects recovered from the ancient village sites, which can be amply determined as material made and used by Sioux Indians centuries previous to the discoveries by Radisson.

One of Alfred J. Hill's written papers concerning Le Sueur's mention of Sioux villages or bands of the East, A. D. 1700, catalogues the following names and locations:

Mantantons—Village of the Great Lake.

Mendeoucantons—Village of Spirit Lake.

Quiopetons—Village of lake with one river.

Psioumanitons—Village of wild rice gatherers.

Onadebatons—River Village. On Hennepin's map they are marked north-east of Mille Lac.

Onatemantons—Village of the tribe who dwell on the point of the lake; probably Cormorant [Shaub-aush-kung] Point, Mille Lac.

Songasquitos—The Brave Village “Hennepin calls Mille Lac, Changasketon Lake, and far north of this he marks the residence of the Changaskabions or the Brave Band.”

Nine bands of the Sioux of the West are named, one of which was Village of the Red Stone Quarry.

The true determination of the identity of the builders of ancient earthworks in the Basin of the Mississippi received a most valuable aid when the following well known statement was made by one of the most competent explorers of Wisconsin:

It is by considerations of this nature that we are led to the conclusion that the mound-builders of Wisconsin were none others than the ancestors of the present tribes of Indians (I. A. Lapham, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Volume VII., 1855, page 90).

The Winnebago Indians when discovered were resident at and near the mound-groups of Wisconsin, distinguished by many effigy forms, and they called themselves “Hotcangary,” meaning “first or parent speech.” The very few effigy mounds in Northern Minnesota can be referred to migrating or visiting transients from the people who constructed the Wisconsin effigies, without probability of erroneous conclusion. Intermarriages possibly augmented effigy builders in the Mille Lacs region. Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, in 1879, in *Prehistoric Copper Implements*, arrived at a conclusion that those coppers which were found in Wisconsin were made by the early tribes of Indians. Copper implements found in Minnesota are comparatively the same in form as those of Wisconsin, and are apparently identical in character and age. It is important that Radisson witnessed the Sioux Indians wearing copper crescents, near Mille Lac. Professor McGee has adequately quoted Mooney and Dorsey in his *Siouan Indians*, concerning Southeastern Siouan tribes and the Biloxi, but it cannot be successfully shown, on a linguistic basis, that the Mille Lac bands of Sioux migrated from the Southeastern Atlantic coast during a comparatively recent time. Every indication in Minnesota, geologic, archæologic and historic, points to an ancient occupancy by the Dakota Indians, covering a period of many centuries.



RECENT LANDMARK, NICHOLS BAY, MILLE LAC.
AITKIN COUNTY, MINNESOTA.

§ 5. ARCHEOLOGY OF MILLE LAC.

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION OF DEFINITE EXPLORATIONS ALONG THE HEAD BRANCHES OF MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

From 1860 to 1895, Mr. Alfred J. Hill expended about twenty-five thousand dollars in the Northwest in archaeologic studies and field work, a large portion of which sum was paid as wages for the survey of mound groups and incidental expenses connected therewith. He died in 1895, before his conclusions were made known concerning the identity of the Indians who constructed the mounds and earthworks which have been discovered from time to time by numerous individuals in Minnesota. To locate a group of mounds, an adjacent village site, and construct a chart of the same; and to secure the bones of the dead and the flint implements and pottery discovered in and about the mounds explored, is of indefinite value in the absence of the results of a determination identifying the Indians who made the flints and clay vessels and erected the earthworks discovered and explored. Mr. Hill's greatest efforts were directed toward the process of charting the many groups of mounds discovered and perpetuating a record of the results.

This present inquiry is to determine as near as possible, by original explorations and the application of historic events, the identity of the Indians who constructed the artificial earthworks at Mille Lac.

The last formidable Sioux war party, precipitated against the Ojibway nation of Indians, of which there is definite knowledge, proceeded from the Valley of Minnesota River to the Valley of Crow Wing River, via Long Prairie, Minnesota, in June, 1860. The party camped one night on the east shore of Charlotte Lake, in Todd County, where the warriors erected a curious elongated circle of glacial boulders which they colored with vermillion. There were about 150 painted, bedecked and ornamented Indians in the party, and approximately an equal number of boulders in the circle. On the outward march the warriors

proceeded under cover, stealthily, back of the hills and through the timber. On the return journey, in distinct Indian file, the war chief led his followers along the open trails and highways on the prairie. Five or more individuals are living who witnessed the formation of the file of Dakotas into a circle on the hill where the court house at Long Prairie now stands, when, in sitting posture, a pipe was lit, which was passed from mouth to mouth, until each individual Indian had taken



STRUCTURAL EXAMINATION OF MOUND NEAR MOUTH OF
PINE RIVER, MINNESOTA.

his puff and echoed his greeting in characteristic form, when the march was resumed on the old trail leading from Long Prairie River to Sauk River. The writer, to satisfy a curiosity, marched with this Sioux war party at that time along the trail, several miles southward to Round Prairie, near where the force of savages disappeared in the forest, never to return. On the 24th of July, 1863, the writer witnessed and took

part in the cavalry charge under command of Colonel Samuel McPhail, against some of the same and other Sioux Indians, when the battle of Big Mound was fought and won. Such experiences and the indelible and lasting impressions gained under those circumstances are mentioned here to convey an idea of the intensity of desires now entertained to more fully understand the earliest history of Minnesota, where the Sioux Indians were first heard of and earliest encountered by the couriers of the so-called march of civilization from the east toward the west, heralding the downfall and the now accomplished doom of Indian nations in America, and thereby to ascertain the true character of the ancient occupants of Kathio. Uninterrupted observations among the Indian tribes and along the course of the Mississippi and many of its tributaries finally resulted in a definite exploration of the source of the Mississippi in 1888 and of the source of the Missouri in 1895. Some interesting archæologic discoveries having been accomplished,



TRENCH INTO MOUND NEAR MOUTH
OF PINE RIVER.

a study of ancient tumuli and associated material resulted in the series of *Memoirs* of which this is the third volume, accomplishing a closer unity between prehistoric times and the historic period than was thought possible. Personal observations of the region from the western extremity of Lake Superior to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and from Itasca Lake southward to the Valley of the Missouri, have so influenced the formation of opinions that the fantastic and seductive idea that an

extinct race of people, long antedating the Indian tribes in the Basin of the Mississippi, constructed the mounds and earthworks found there, has now ceased to appear worthy of consideration.

The earthworks at Mille Lac were constructed by Indians. The stone and copper implements, and the clay vessels made and used there,



SIoux STONE HATCHET. 1.

Garrison Farm, Mille Lac.

likewise were made by the same Indians while occupying the sites of their villages along the shore of the lake.

Mille Lac has been made a test case, contemplated as the most available field of observation in Minnesota, because the earliest known

in the annals of history, in order to gain a more thorough knowledge of why, by whom, and when the mounds were constructed there and elsewhere along the course of the head branches of the Mississippi. An intimate and personal knowledge of the habits and customs of the Sioux and Ojibway people in their primitive lodges, obtained previous to the construction of any railroad in the Northwest, and while each was a hunter nation at warfare with the other, when buffalo, elk,



CHIPPED BLADE. 1.

Mille Lac.

antelope and moose were common in Minnesota, and the possession of hunting privileges continued to be a subject of savage contention and strife, does not lessen the information imperatively required for a determination of questions now sought to be more thoroughly understood and relieved from unnecessary and continued doubt. The tours of observation and discovery, noted in many field books, need not be

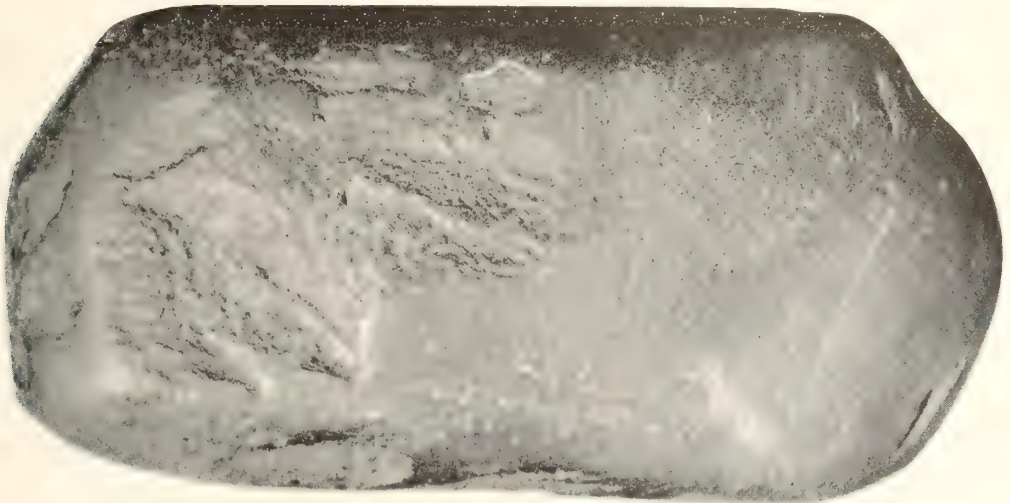
elaborated at this time, except where advisable to show results of explorations at and near Mille Lac. A careful examination of one selected mound was made, at the Pine River group, in Crow Wing County, near where the stream unites with the Mississippi, to ascertain the character of its structure. The mound selected for exploration was ten feet in height, perfectly round and seventy-five feet in diameter. It contained the decomposed bones of one person placed on the original surface of the ground in the exact centre of the space covered by the earthen structure, in sandy soil slightly covered with black loam. The loam had been scraped up from the surface of the surrounding region



SLIGHTLY CUPPED COBBLE FROM MILLE LAC. 1.

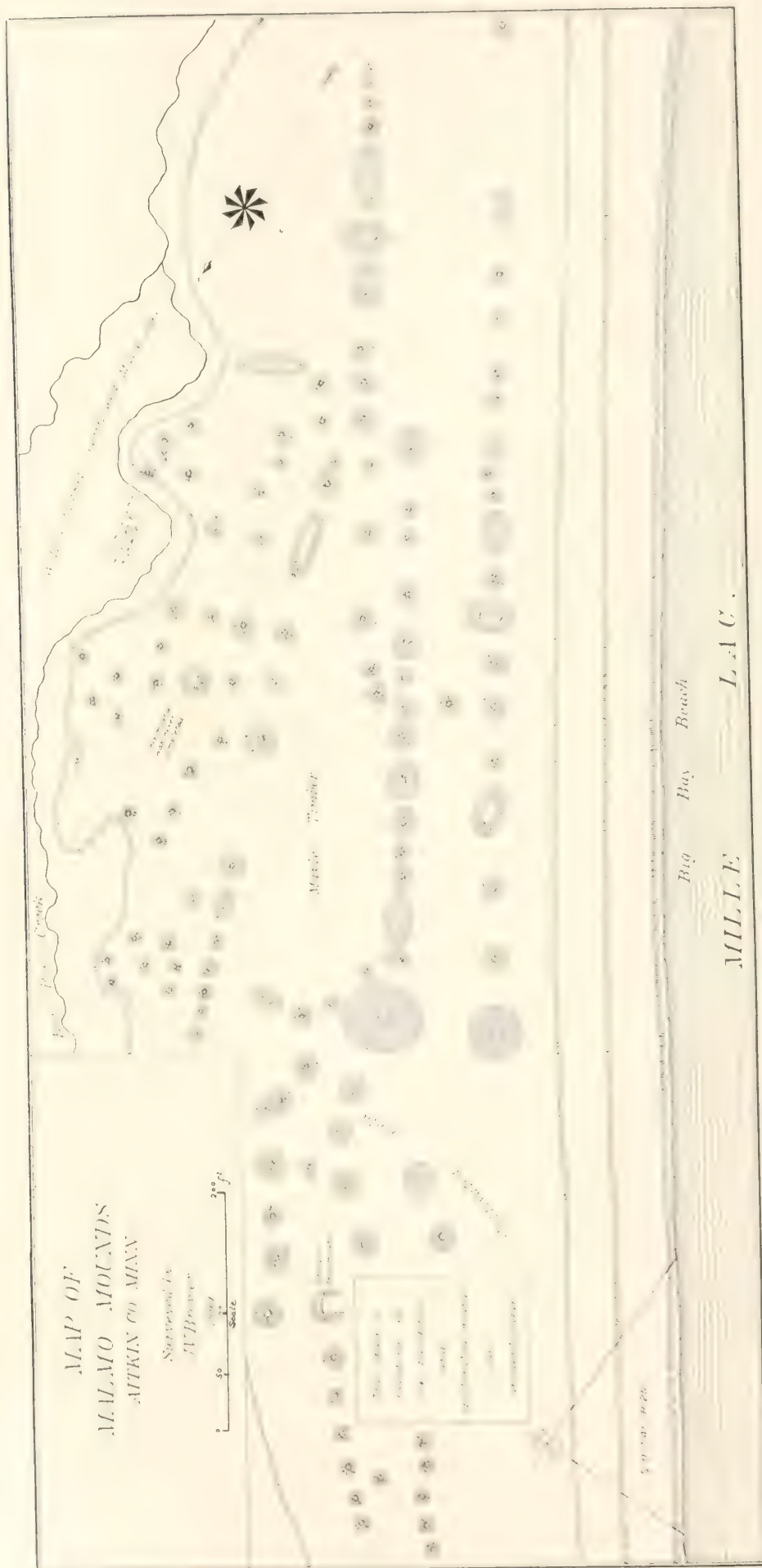
in small parcels, containing about one-half of a cubic foot in each parcel, which indicated that a fraction of the amount of material used was pure sand. As each successive parcel of loam and sand was placed over and around the interment, it was made compact to an extent which protected the remains of the dead from the effects of rainfall, and when the centre of the mound was trenched, the dry walls, as shown by the illustrations on pages 98 and 99, this volume, stood firm and intact. The structure of this mound compared favorably with the

descriptions given by Professor Cyrus Thomas in Chapter VI., *Introduction to the Study of North American Archæology*. Similar structural formation of mounds in other groups at Mille Lac has been observed, but generally, where possible, black soil or dark loam was the material used. The remains of original burials found in the mounds have shown that the flesh was invariably removed before the skeletons were deposited, and occasionally calcined bones have been found in contact with such deposits. None of the mounds explored have yielded any considerable quantity of flint or stone implements, and no earthen vessel has been discovered in contact with the barricaded remains. Ancient village sites are identifiable at or near all the principal mound groups which are



MILLE LAC GROUND CELT. $\frac{1}{2}$.

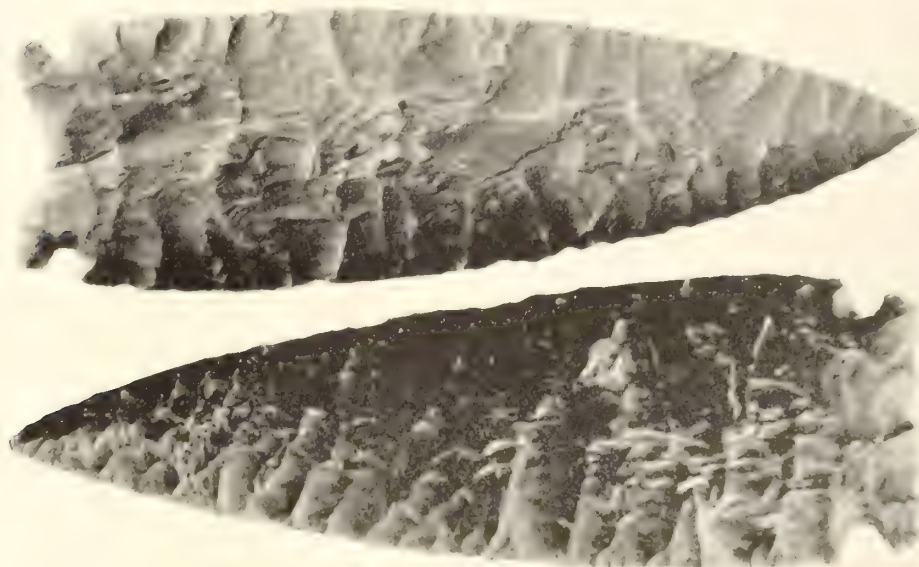
generally discovered at the inlet or outlet of the numerous lakes, or along the principal streams, or between two neighboring lakes. Mille Lac covers an area of 200 square miles, and the mound groups and village sites are near the creeks entering the lake, or at the extremities of the several bays affording the best fishing waters. Where an old portage or trail leaves the lake leading to another locality, a village site and mound group will generally be found at the extremities of the trail. Those portions of village sites which have been cultivated yield considerable quantities of stone implements and pot shards, and a



Lake terraces, formed by wave action when Mills Lake maintained a higher surface elevation, are regularly intermediate between the present lake beach and the creek. The terraces are compact, well formed accumulations of sand, pebbles and debris, now covered with mould and a forest of deciduous timber. Many of the Malmo mounds are regularly grouped along the crest of the terraces. The land projection encompassed between the lake and the creek, at this mound group, is widely differing stages of decomposition. The mounds are constructed of dark soil and sandy loam and contain remains in widely differing stages of decomposition.



limited number of copper objects of various forms. The most available materials used for implements were white quartz, granite, and glacial cobbles and boulders, in plentiful quantity; and gunflint, identified as originating at and eastward from Gunflint Lake on the northern border of Minnesota, was the favorite material used for chipped knives and spearheads, and a large number of them have been recovered. Gunflint spalls are numerous at Mille Lac and at all the old village sites along the Mississippi in Northern Minnesota. The earthen vessels were usually made from a prepared mixture of pulverized granite, sand, clay and the powdered valves of clams; and the chevrons and rims, of various forms



GUNFLINT SPEARHEADS. 1.

(From Upper Basin of the Mississippi.)

and moulds, do not differ in general appearance to an extent sufficient to demonstrate that there existed two distinct ancient nations or stages of culture at Mille Lac. Copper implements and ornaments were hammered into many forms, and they indicate, by various stages of decomposition, that the use of them in Aitkin County, Minnesota, was continued for a long period of time, and the oldest and newest specimens are identical in form. From a considerable and characteristic accumulation of stone, quartz, flint, granite, clay and copper objects,

recovered at Mille Lac and the surrounding region, there has been selected for illustration an ample number sufficient to demonstrate that the nation of men who made and used them were archers, warriors, hunters and agriculturists, exactly comparable with the earliest historic description of the Sioux Indians.

Lodge circles of earth and numerous conical and elongated mounds have been discovered at and near Mille Lac. The lodge circles as a rule show depressions in the centre, and at various excavations made into them, charcoal and the effects of fire were observed. The original deposits of human remains in the mounds at Mille Lac, as a rule, are bundles of leg and arm bones, upon which the skull and lower jaw rest, occasionally in contact with a section of vertebra: the whole covered over by conical or elongated mound structures from one to ten and twelve feet in height and of various diameters from fifteen to eighty feet, the largest number indicating an average size about twenty feet in width and three feet in height. Exploration of mounds at different groups has demonstrated that they contain no quantities of archaeological objects, only single specimens being occasionally found in contact with human bones



COPPER ORNAMENT.
Aitkin County, Minnesota.

which lie in various stages of decomposition, from well preserved remains to the disappearing ashes of the dead, distinguishing the builders of the mounds at Mille Lac as a people who occupied the region during a long period of time, from an ancient to a comparatively recent date. Explored mounds in distinct groups of identical size, height and structure, yielded the remains of original interments in widely different stages of decomposition, indicating that the process of grouping the mounds



ARROW-SHAFT SCRAPER, CHIPPED SINKER AND TWO
CHIPPED KNIVES FROM MILLE LAC.

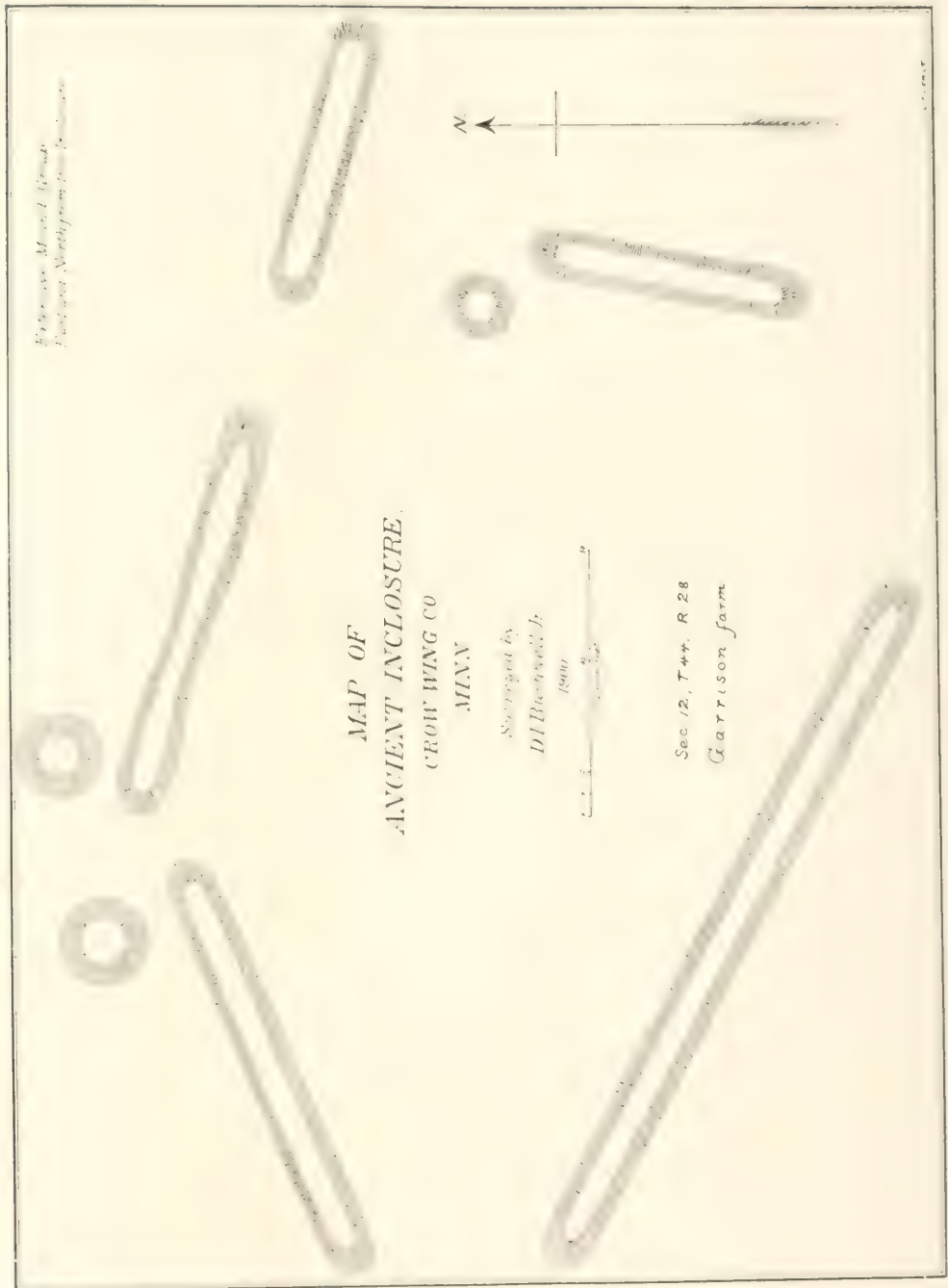
(Slightly Reduced Size).

was a continued custom controlled by the necessity of occasions when the accumulated bones of the dead required additional mound structures over deposited remains of one or several subjects. The Ojibway intrusive burials at the crest of various mounds have been of an entirely different nature from the mortuary custom of the people who preceded them, in that the flesh, arms of the chase, ornaments, knives, pipes and other objects, the whole usually incased in birch bark, constitute an Ojibway preparation usual within a very short time after death; the excavated grave holding the deposited remains is then covered over with earth and barricaded in various ways, often with a box or puncheon, and in a few instances, fenced, on or near which the "O-do-daim-un" of the deceased is cut in wood, painted or penciled, showing what family clan mourn the recent death.

Near an old Sioux Village Site on the north side of Garrison Creek, at Section 12, Township 44, Range 28, there is an extensive mound group which has detached extensions westward to Borden Lake, along an old trail or portage connecting that lake with Mille Lac. The distance between the two lakes is a little more than one mile. The old village site is near and northward from the mouth of the creek, and the mound group commences immediately west of the village site. Adjoining the group near the creek is an inclosure of five distinct embankments, which are of various lengths, oval in form, and about three feet in height. The inclosure is illustrated, with three mounds, in Plate XL., on the following page.

EXPLORATIONS.

The preliminary examination of the shore line of Mille Lac was initiated May 28, 1899. Commencing at Aitkin, on the Mississippi, thence proceeding southward to Mille Lac, various mounds were visited or heard of along the course of Mud River. One Portage, leading from the southern bend of Mud River to Mille Lac was traversed and a small mound group was discovered on the trail. Arriving at Malmo, at the northeast extremity of Mille Lac, an extensive mound group was observed, and many chipped implements and stone objects were





recovered at a village site which extends along the shore of the lake on both sides of the mouth of Big Bay Creek. April 29th the Wealthwood shore was examined. There were found only slight indications of Indian camping grounds and two or three isolated mounds. A large group of mounds at the outlet of Spirit Lake, on Mud River, was visited, and on the second day of May, the north shore of Mille Lac to the Nichols mound group was examined. The mounds and inclosure on Section 12, Township 44, Range 28, at Garrison's farm, were carefully observed. The following day the west shore of Mille Lac was traversed and many mounds were discovered at Dinwiddie Bay, Wigwam Bay and other localities. The collection of flint implements, along the route of travel, became burdensome and part of it was sent to St. Paul, and some mediocre objects were abandoned. The site of Kathio was reached and found to be a very interesting region. Numerous mounds and earthworks exist there, on both sides of Rum River at the outlet of Mille Lac. The south shore of the lake was examined, May 4th, to interesting mound groups and village sites at Portage Bay, Mo-zo-ma-na Point and Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay. May 6th the examination of the south shore was completed to a village site and mound group near the mouth of Gim-i-nis-sing River. Thence an exploration of the wild and isolated region along the east shore of Mille Lac to Malmo was undertaken on foot and alone, with much hardship and meager results, as only a few mounds were discovered. On Monday, May 8th, three mounds of the Malmo group were explored, each of which contained decomposed remains of original interments. A survey of the group was then made with results shown in Plate XXXVII., on page 104. This action closed the preliminary examination of the shore line of Mille Lac, and an extended exploration of the surrounding region was continued, resulting for that season in a very interesting canoe voyage on the Upper Mississippi, from Itasca Lake to Aitkin, in the month of September, when a fine collection was secured from many ancient village sites, beginning with the site at Itasca Lake and ending with the site on Mud River at Aitkin.

On Friday, May 11, 1900, a definite exploration of the mound groups and village sites at Mille Lac was undertaken. Mr. D. I. Bushnell, Jr.,

MILLE LAC. PLATE XII.



CAMP SCENES AND CAMP MARKS.

Brower and Bushnell Survey of Mille Lac, 1900.

a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society, by mutual agreements, was associated with me in this exploration. Mr. Bushnell has prepared the following notes from his journal:

JOURNAL OF EXPLORATIONS AT MILLE LAC, 1900.

Friday, May 11.—Left St. Paul early this morning and arrived at Aitkin, via the N. P. R. R., at 1:55 p. m. It had been our intention to remain over night at Aitkin and drive to Nichols Saturday morning; but instead of so doing, we secured a team and came through this afternoon. A drive of nearly twenty miles through a rough country brought us to the north shore of Mille Lac, Aitkin County, Minnesota, fully prepared to archaeologically explore the adjacent region.

Saturday, May 12.—Nichols, where we are now camped, is located at Sections 5 and 6, Township 44, Range 27, at the northwestern extension of Mille Lac.

The lake shore in the immediate vicinity of Nichols is very interesting to the geologist as well as to the archaeologist. Here are three lake beaches which have been pushed up by the action of ice and winds. The beach nearest the lake is approximately eight feet high and fifty feet wide at the level of the lake. Along the top, within a space of 680 feet, are fourteen ancient earthworks, some of which we have identified as being lodge circles. We opened several and in every case found charcoal in the centre. In two were found fragments of pottery and pieces of quartz. We have made a survey of them.

Back from the first beach are forty mounds of various shapes and sizes. These we shall examine more fully at a future time. An ancient village site is located at the end of the portage, and a good collection of chipped stone implements has been obtained.

Sunday, May 13.—This morning was clear and warm; but at noon clouds came up from the northwest and in a short time the storm broke. Hail fell for several minutes, covering the ground.

We are surprised to see how advanced the vegetation is in this northern country. The trees have budded at least a month earlier than in previous years, and within a short time the grass will be so high and thick as to prevent an examination of the surface and the discovery of specimens scattered over it. Although the morning was

MILLE LAC. PLATE XLII.



CAMP No. 12. AT NICHOLS BAY.

CAMP No. 2. AT OLIVER POINT.

perfectly clear we were unable to see any part of the south shore on account of the great distance. In the afternoon we visited Round Lake—"Ka-wa-yega-mong" of the Ojibways. It is a beautiful sheet of water and is said to be the deepest lake in this part of Minnesota. Made observations on the north star, to ascertain the magnetic declination, and found it to be six degrees east. Have marked on an oak tree: "NICHOLS ANCIENT LODGE CIRCLES, B. & B., 1900."

Monday, May 14.—This morning we examined the ancient inclosure and mounds located at Section 12, Township 44, Range 28, Crow Wing County. The inclosure, of which we made a survey, is very interesting. It is situated apart from the mound groups nearer the creek. It would be interesting to know that it was erected for a fortification or as an inclosure within which religious ceremonies were performed.

Tuesday, May 15.—We desired to start this morning on our trip around the lake, but were detained until one o'clock by high winds. At that hour we started, but had not gone far before waves in quick succession broke over our boat. We took a great deal of water, which compelled us to make the shore. We then stowed half of our goods in the boat, moved a mile farther down the shore, landed them, and returned for the others. After another delay we loaded everything into the boat, and while we walked along the shore our boatman, who is an excellent oarsman, took it safely across the bay to the landing at Oliver Point. Before we were able to unload the



DISCOVERY OF A LODGE CIRCLE.

Nichols Group.

MILLE LAC. PLATE XLIII.



VIEW AT CAMP No. 8, SUNSET BAY.

VIEW AT CAMP No. 9, MALMO.

boat it was full of water; but fortunately few things were damaged. Pitched camp a short distance from the shore in a sheltered spot and after a hasty meal retired for the night.

Wednesday, May 16.—This has been a disagreeable, cold day, with a northeast wind blowing and a light rain falling most of the time. The mercury at 7 A. M. registered forty-two degrees Fahrenheit and at 7 P. M. forty-five degrees. The bay in the northwest corner of the lake has been named Dinwiddie, after an old settler, and we have marked an oak tree "DINWIDDIE BAY, B. & B., 1900." The point near our camp is known as Oliver Point, after a pioneer who once lived there. There is a small group of mounds and embankments a short distance north of Oliver Point which we have surveyed. On an oak tree near the southern extremity of the group we marked "ELIASON RUN MOUNDS, B. & B., 1900. This camp is on Lot 1, Section 24, Township 44, Range 28.

Thursday, May 17.—Unable to proceed by water to-day, on account of head winds. The exploring party was fortunate, however, in being able to secure a team to transport the boat and outfit as far as Wigwam Bay, to an encampment on a ridge a short distance from the lake, in full view of the small Ojibway village situated on the northern side of the bay. This evening a number of Indians called at our camp, among them one old man who told us his name was Sa-gutch-u, and whose totem is the cariboo. We asked him to explain the meaning of his name, which he did in this manner: going down to the foot of the ridge upon which we were standing, he came steadily up, holding his arm out before him. When he had nearly reached the top he went through the action of looking over. That, so he told us, was what he did many years ago when he first walked unaided. This explanation would make it seem that Sa-gutch-u means "to look over" or "looking over."

Friday, May 18.—During the morning the very interesting mound group, which begins at the camp and extends a distance down the lake shore, was examined. Explored three mounds, in two of which there was exhumed human remains; in the third nothing was found. Stone implements were found in considerable numbers. Late in the afternoon we struck camp and moved down the west shore to the site of Kathio, which is a very interesting locality. At Wigwam Bay we engraved on

MILLE LAC. PLATE XLIV.



VIEW AT MO-ZO-MA-NA POINT.

SCENE AT SA-GA-WA-MICK BAY.

FORMATION AT SPIRIT ROCK ISLAND.

an oak tree: "WIGWAM BAY MOUNDS, B. & B., 1900." Very extensive forest fires are raging to the east of the lake to-night. The eastern sky is brightly illuminated and at times flames extend high above the timber bordering the lake.

Saturday, May 19.—Camp is located facing Outlet Bay, and the old site of Kathio seems to extend along the shore a considerable distance, and many mounds, some of which are larger than any yet observed, are grouped in irregular detached order over a shore line distance nearly or quite two miles long, indicating that the old town



SA-GUTCH-I AND J. V. BROWER.

(On a Pimcheon Ojibway Grave at Wigwam Bay).

was situated on both sides of Rum River at the outlet of Mille Lac. An exploration of Shaub-aush-kung (Cormorant) Point determined its character to be a glacial hill extending toward the main recess of Mille Lac, forming the point and Robbins Island. Evidences of ancient and recent Indian occupancy, from this camp to Shore View Bay at Mi-gi-si's village, are ample; stone hoes, cores, pot shards, arrow points

MILL LAC PLATE XLV



TREES MARKED AT CAMP SITES.

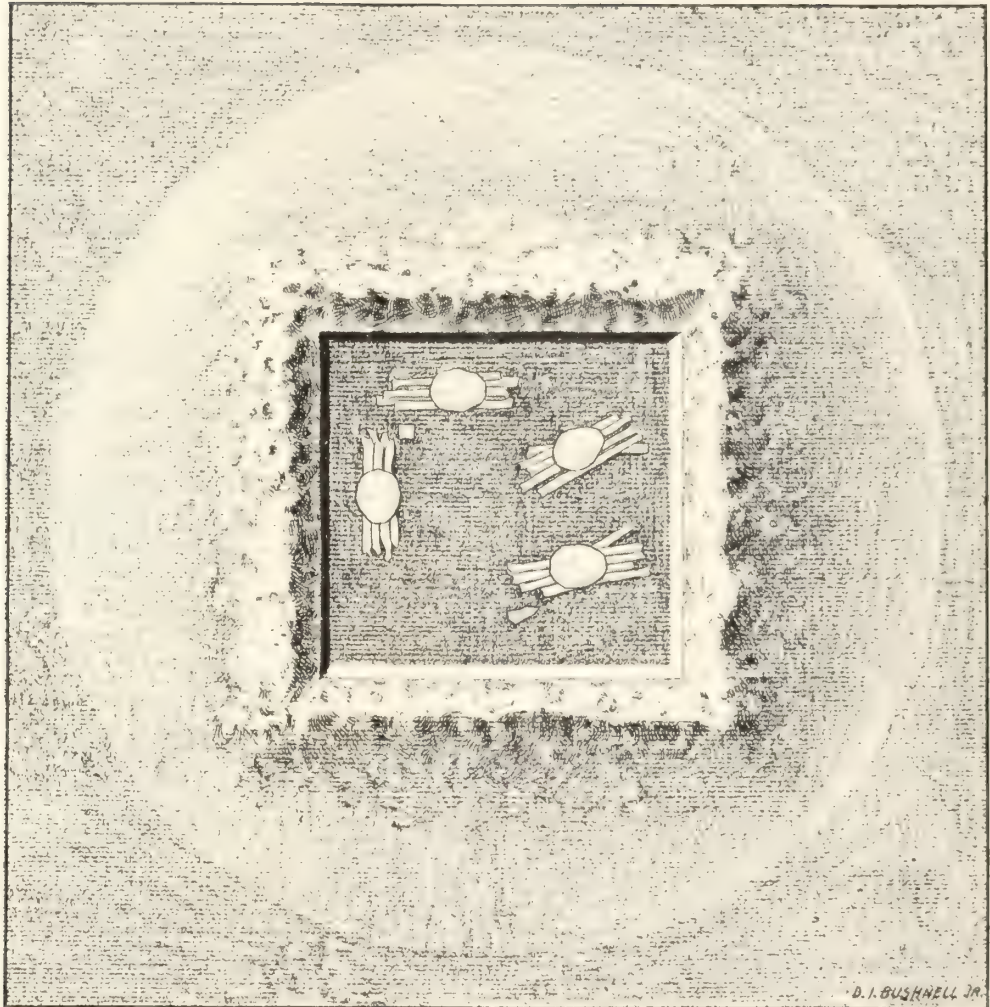
and flint blades having been found scattered along near Ojibway bark lodges and in small cornfields of the present time. An exploration to Sah-ging Point and First Lake resulted in the discovery of many additional mounds and several earthen lodge-circles.

Sunday, May 20.—Camp was moved to Mo-zo-ma-na Point. At the lunch hour the mound group and old village site at Portage Bay, where Go-ge and many other Ojibway Indians now reside, was examined with much interest. Some of the largest mounds at Mille Lac are situated near the northern end of the portage leading south to Third Lake. The region extending from Portage Bay around South End Bay to the extremity of Mo-zo-ma-na Point, covered with maple timber, bears evidences of a centralized Indian occupancy from an ancient period to the present time.

Many Ojibway graves are visible near our camp and, in several cases where the winds have cut through the sandy soil, bleached human bones are scattered over the surface.

This afternoon Spirit Rock Island, which is north thirty-nine degrees west about four miles from camp, was visited. The reef is about 200 feet in length, in a general course from east to west, and 100 feet wide. It is composed of massive blocks of granite, some of which are ten feet long and four or five feet square at the ends. These are piled one upon another to a height of nearly twenty feet. Extending 100 feet or more to the north and east of the reef is a mass of igneous rock, in place, not more than two feet below the surface of the water. The boulders which form the reef appear to have been pushed up by a force coming from the north. The spaces between the rocks form nesting places for hundreds of gulls. No vegetation exists on the island.

Monday, May 21.—Explored the South Shore region, and established Camp No. 6 at Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay, soon after which Chief Wah-we-yay-cum-ig called as a visitor. The Ojibway chief is about fifty years old, of medium height and muscular, wears his black coarse hair cropped short, and is a well dressed, respectable appearing man. He deeply deplores the condition of his band of nearly 1000 Ojibway people, who have lost their reservation contrary to stipulated promises on the part of government officials, a discussion of which action is not properly admissable here, except to say that the Mille Lac band of Ojibways are a fine looking and intelligent people who exist in abject



ORIGINAL MOUND BURIALS.

Malmo Group, Mille Lac.

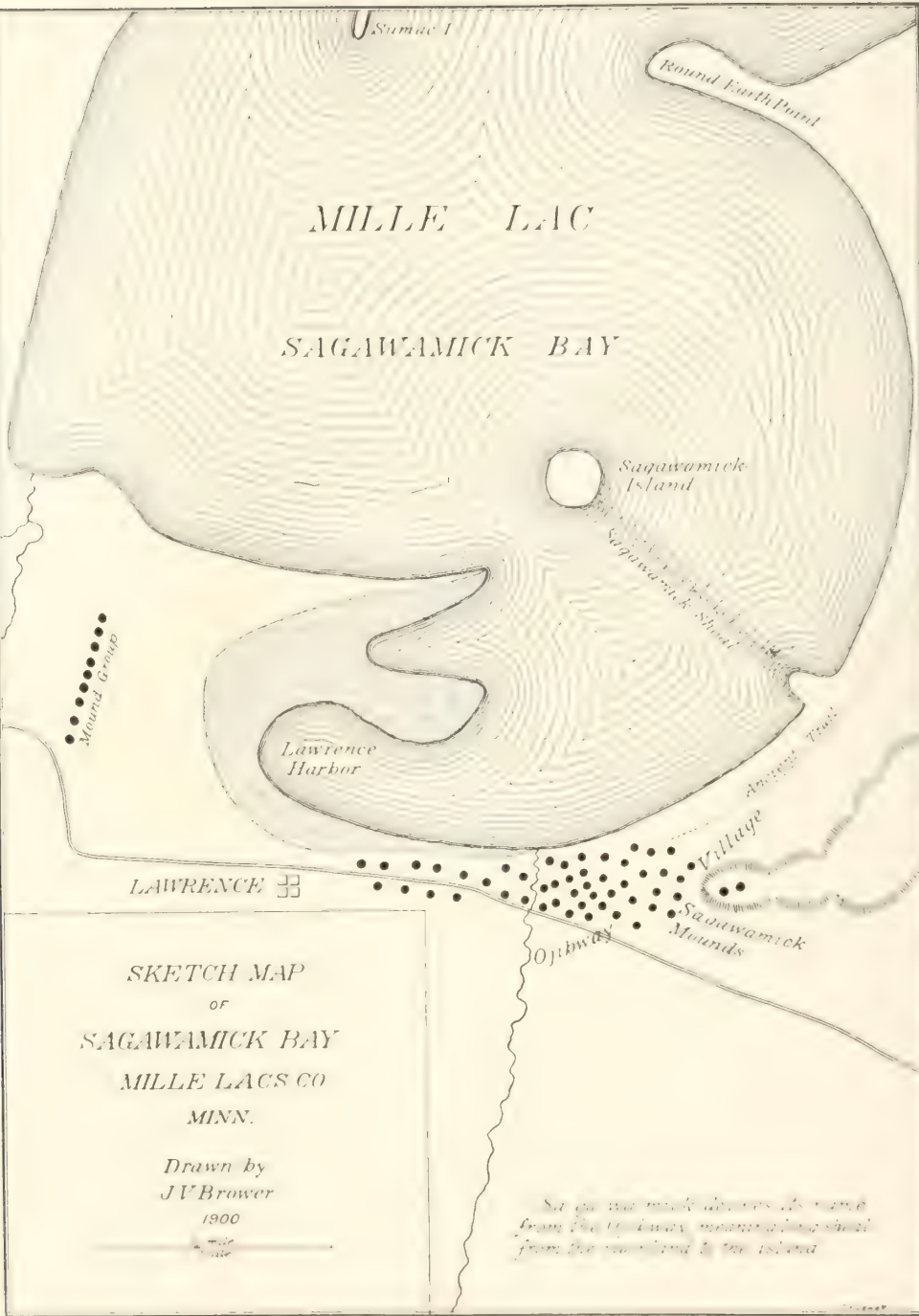
The mound was perfectly round, three feet in height and twenty feet in diameter. The deposited remains were uncovered by a removal of the body of the mound from the original surface, where the four bundled skeletons rested. A pot shard, nearest the left hand skeleton, and a gunflint spearhead at the lower right hand deposit, were found, as noted by Mr. Bushnell's chart and journal. The mound was restored to its original form.

uncertainty from causes which have surreptitiously relieved them of rightful belongings and a permanent home. An exploration of the ancient mound groups and village site at Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay, and of the present Ojibway village, distinguished as the head chief's residence, indicates plainly that the locality has been occupied by Sioux and Ojibway Indians, alternately, for many centuries. The Ojibway lodges are located at the principal mound group, and are constructed of elm, ash or birch bark. The chief's house is a log cabin with one room and a loft, presided over by a very intelligent and excellent mother of several grown sons, by all of whom a welcomed visit was extended at their cabin home. Na-gwa-na-be (Feathers-end) and many Indians are making extensive preparations for a medicine dance, and the drums and ceremonious utterances continued all night. Explored Sa-ga-wa-mick Island, but discovered no mounds or village site there. The mound groups are to be catalogued.

Tuesday, May 22.—Explorations at Sa-ga-wa-mick were continued. The Ojibway village is situated at the principal mound group, and many bark lodges and mounds are adjoining each other. A large number of Indians are able to sign their respective names. Feathers-end, the medicine chief, visited the camp to-day and drew his wolf totem in a field book. Many photographs and a sketch of the bay have been secured.

Wednesday, May 23.—Set out early from Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay and visited the village site and mound group at Gim-i-nis-sing bay and river, where is situated the last Ojibway village. Big Island characterizes the region, as it means, in Ojibway—Gim-i-nis-sing. Evidences of pre-historic occupancy show that this locality was a remote and unimportant settlement. Camp was established at North Courage Bay, where there are a few mounds. A-ya-shintang visited the exploring party at this encampment and gave much valuable information from an Ojibway standpoint.

Thursday, May 24.—Arose early and proceeded in the boat around Ojibway Point and entered a dense bank of fog, which forced us to follow closely the shore line. At mouth of Cedar River there are no mounds and only slight indications of a village site. Passed around the Hawk Bill or Big Point, the Ke-che-na-aush-ing of the Ojibway.

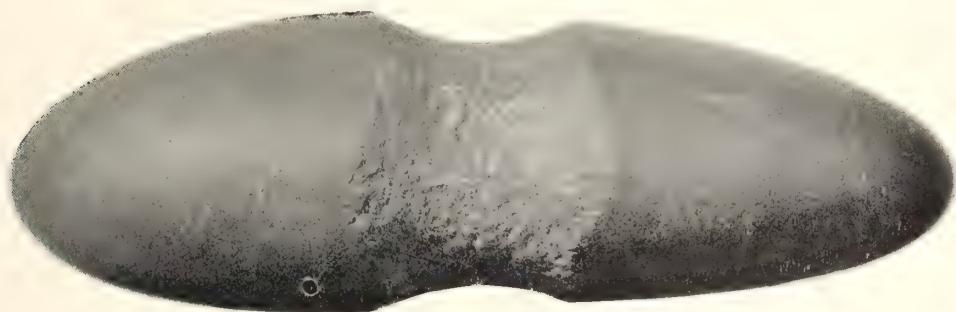


SITE OF WAH-WE-YAY CUM-IG'S OJIBWAY VILLAGE.

There was a very small ancient settlement at Accault Bay. Established Camp No. 8 at Sunset Bay, where explosions from the surface of the water were distinctly heard, possibly caused by gases escaping from beneath the lake.

Friday, May 25.—Moved forward early to avoid headwinds, which, however, we encountered before landing at the Malmo mound group. In the afternoon a furious storm broke over Mille Lac and lashed the waters into a sea of white caps.

Saturday, May 26.—The day was devoted to explorations at one of the most important localities at Mille Lac. Two separate mounds were selected for exploration. The first contained a chipped blade of quartzite, but all semblance of human remains had disappeared. The



GROOVED STONE HAMMER. 1.

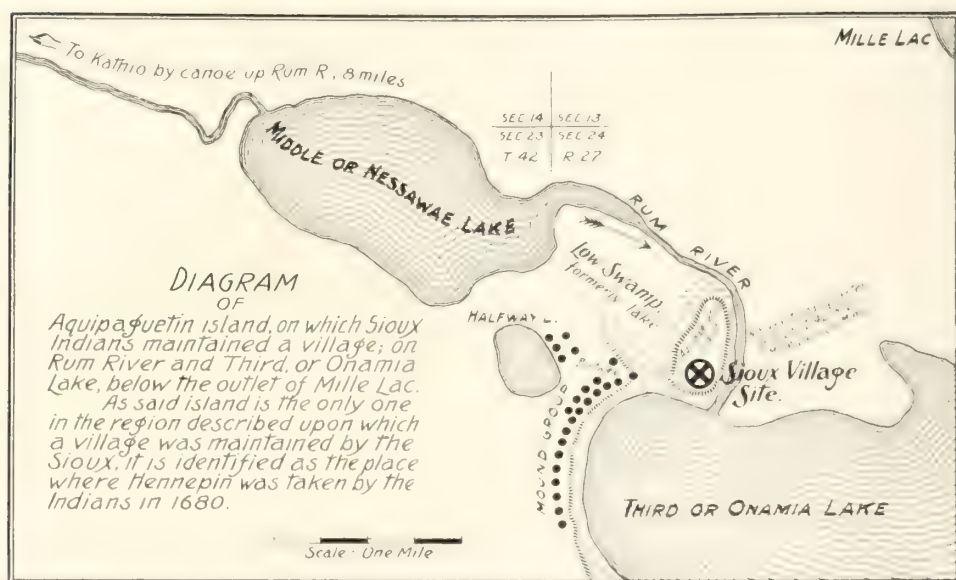
From Rum River, Isanti County, Minnesota.

second mound contained the remains of four persons, in a good state of preservation. A gunflint spearhead and a large pot shard were associated with the interments. They are exactly similar to the same class of objects found at the village sites. After taking notes for a chart (Plate XLVI.) a consultation was held relating to the identity of the people whose remains were discovered to be an original burial in the said mound. The decision is that the bones and material were probably of ancient Sioux origin.

Sunday, May 27.—As the Wealthwood and North shores of Mille Lac were explored last year, we went forward to-day in a steam tug to Nichols and went into camp. It now plainly appears that the west

and south shores of the lake, and Big Bay at Malmo, were the favorite resorts of ancient man.

Monday, May 28.—Made a definite survey of the Nichols mound group. A short distance from our camp, at the eastern end of the group of mounds, is a cultivated field in which we have found a large number of archaeological specimens, including several notched hoes and other chipped pieces, all of which we have classed as agricultural implements. Finding these specimens as we have would indicate this field



to be the site of a garden spot of those who occupied this region before the advent of the Ojibway Indians.

Tuesday, May 29.—By team and wagon camp was to-day moved to Kathio, at the outlet of Mille Lac. Sa-gutch-u made the statement that there were many mounds at Middle and Third lakes, and a drive to that locality was a fortunate step. The only village site discovered on land which was an island is at Third or Onamia Lake, and there is also an extensive mound group where Camp No. 11 was established. Mr. E. W. Cundy and Mr. Brower have made notes for a diagram of this island. This is undoubtedly the place where Hennepin was taken by Aquipaguetin in 1680. The vegetation has become so dense that

all the mounds here are much overshadowed. The group is an extensive one, and the village site on the island is overspread with pot shards.

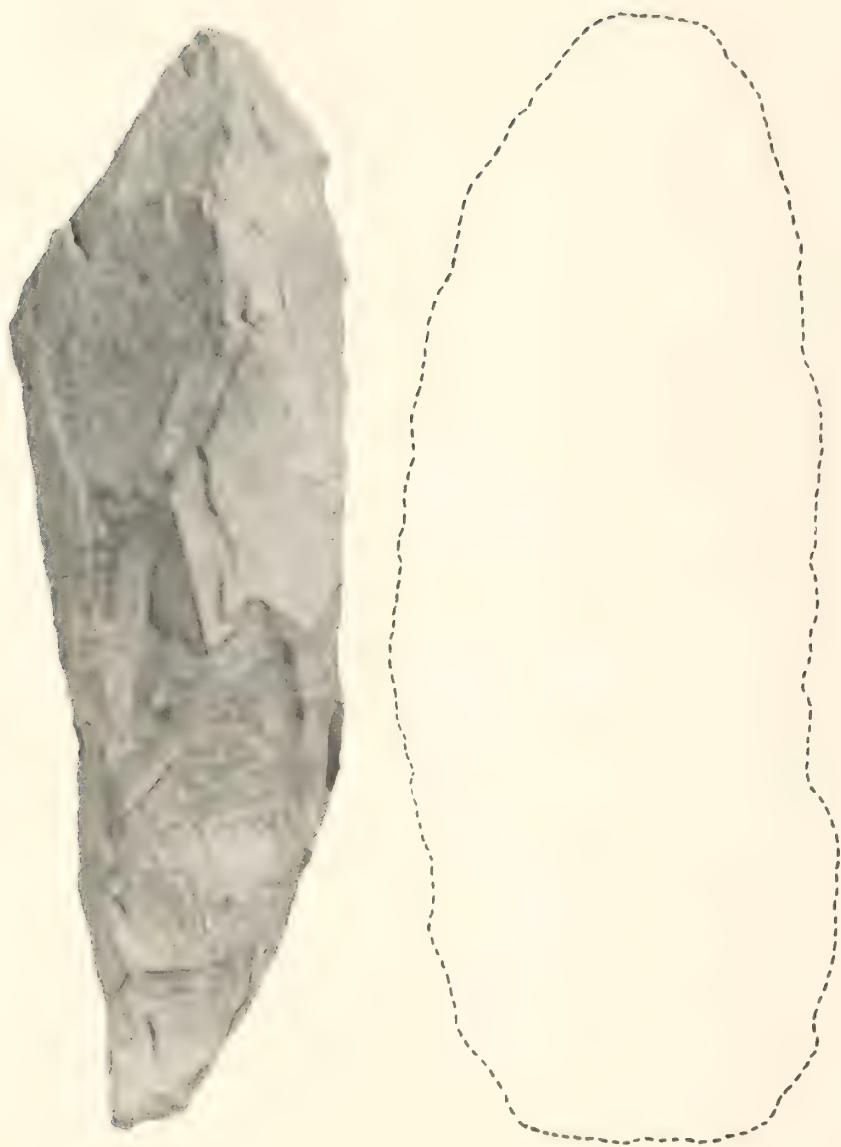
Wednesday, May 30.—Left camp and drove to the outlet of Third Lake and to Sa-ga-wa-mick, where Camp No. 12 was established, near the site of Camp No. 6. Chief Wa-we-yay-cum-ig and many members of his band welcomed the exploring party on this return visit. By request the chief assembled a number of the old men of his band to aid this work by describing Ojibway names and events. Na-gwa-na-be (Feathers-end), Be-dud (Lights?), Shing-ob (Balsam-tree), Aish-pun (Great-height), Kaw-we-tah-say (Flying-around) and about 150 Ojibway Indians attended the chief at this "talk." Gus Beaulieu acted as interpreter. A large map of Mille Lac was spread out in front of the Indians and they recognized every bay, point, river and island, and described the Ojibway name of each and its meaning. They stated that the largest Sioux villages were situated near the outlet and along the south shore. The Sioux were driven from their villages and retreated down Rum River. The Ojibway victory was complete, and the Sioux were never afterward able to regain any part of their lost territory. The Ojibways occupy the site of the Sioux villages, cultivate their garden spots, and utilize their trails.

After our "talk" we made several photographs of the old men and groups of the villagers. The wife of the chief was present during the greater part of the time and joined in the discussion concerning names of different places.

Preparations are being made here for a great dance, which is to begin within a few days. At that time seven candidates are to join the secret society. The various ceremonies will last six or eight days. The Indians are gathering here from all parts of the lake and we have met several whom we saw during our trip down the west shore earlier in the month.

Thursday, May 31.—A return exploration of the west shore of Mille Lac, principally for photographic purposes, brought the party to a third encampment at Nichols Bay.

Friday, June 1.—This day was devoted toward the completion of written journals. A large package of stone and flint implements was prepared for shipment. The collection is a characteristic one,



SIoux CLUB HEAD, WITH REVERSE SECTION. 4.

From Mud River, Aitkin County, Minnesota.

Figured at page 61, Morehead's *Prehistoric Implements*, as a "peculiar knife." This chipped implement was found at an ancient canoe landing and camp ground, at the City of Aitkin, associated with pot shards and other stone implements.

suitable for such illustrations as may be deemed sufficient to substantiate the results of exploration.

Saturday, June 2.—To-day there has been erected, in the centre of one of the mounds on the first lake beach, an oak post, standing twelve feet above the surface. The bark was removed and upon the side facing the lake the following was engraved: "MINNESOTA—MOUND EXPLORATION—CIRCUIT OF MILLE LAC—J. V. BROWER, D. I. BUSHNELL, JR.—MAY 10 TO JUNE 2, 1900."

Sunday, June 3.—Broke camp and proceeded on a return journey to St. Paul.

MOUNDS AND EARTHWORKS.

CATALOGUE EMBRACING TABULATED NUMBER OF TUMULI DISCOVERED AT AND NEAR MILLE LAC.

Malmo group at Big Bay.....	128
Number obliterated and one isolated.....	6
Isolated mounds on Wealthwood Shore.....	3
One Portage group near Knox Point.....	7
Group on Mud River below Spirit Lake.....	72
Nichols group at Duck Flutter Portage.....	55
Garrison Creek and Borden Lake groups.....	74
Group at Dinwiddie Bay.....	14
Group north of Pas-qua-nim-iss-ance Creek.....	7
Group westward from Fenley Shore.....	9
Wigwam Bay group.....	64
Earthworks at Shore View Bay.....	3
Mounds at and near Outlet Bay.....	41
Portage Bay group.....	34
Group at Cove, extremity of South End Bay.....	23
Scattered groups at Sa-ga-wa-mick Bay.....	100
Gim-i-nis-sing bay and river group.....	27
North Courage Bay group.....	4
Accault Bay group.....	6
Mounds near Sunset Bay.....	3
Extensive group of mounds and embankments at Rice lake and creek, northeast from Malmo (Big Bay Portage).....	208
Extensive and extended group of mounds near Aquipaguetin Island, Halfway and Third lakes, about.....	180
Group at Round Lake, northwest of Nichols.....	11
Mounds at Farm Island Lake (reported).....	30
Group on Nokasippi at Camp No. 14, at Long Lake.....	16
Total.....	1125

It is not claimed that all of the mounds and earthworks at and near Mille Lac have been discovered. One isolated mound at Nichols is omitted from Mr. Bushnell's chart. The village sites and groups at Garrison Creek and Borden Lake, connected by trails, appear to have been one lengthened Indian community.



"Copper objects from Minnesota. Size $\frac{1}{4}$. From Mr. J. V. Brower's *Headwaters of the Mississippi River*. In the center is a long spear-head. At the bottom are two small bracelets. Above them, two arrow or spear-heads of different type. The one to the right having a long, pointed base to be inserted in a socket or perforation in the handle. The other could be more securely fastened to a handle because of the overlapping edges. Above the long (central) spear is a pointed implement, and in the corner a crescent (head ornament)."—Warren K. Moorehead, in *Prehistoric Implements*, page 59.

§ 6. CONCLUSION.

Minnesota is the seat of many thousands of ancient artificial mounds and earthworks, of differing character, widely separated, and of various forms, sizes and varieties. To attempt an intelligent and unprejudiced identification of the people who constructed them; to fix approximately the time of the mound building era, and to define the purposes for which the structures were erected, is a laborious task which absolutely requires familiarity with the dawn of the very earliest local historic period; a comprehensive knowledge of the formation of the earth's surface where the mound groups are located, and an archaeologic exploration of such magnitude that ascertained conditions and facts shall not be distorted to serve a purpose, or swerved to perpetrate an unconscious or deliberate error.

The consummation of an ideal archaeologic study has been attempted, at Mille Lac, as the most available field of observation, because the earliest known in our local history. If the attempt shall prove a failure, there will at least remain the consolation that some degree of information has been gained upon which continued inquiry may not be unsafely predicated, in future endeavors to obtain a more extended knowledge of the appearance and progress of ancient man on the Upper Mississippi.

Geology, determined by able students, demonstrates that an ice cap, during recent geologic times, advancing from the northward with tremendous force, invested the Mille Lacs region. The great weight of the glacial covering depressed the earth's crust there to an extent which changed the climate from an arctic to a temperate zone, when the melting ice formed lakes and streams, and river channeling began over the barren gravel-beds deposited by the rigid forces of nature. The rounded boulders, cobbles and pebbles, the river courses, and the lake beaches speak the silent language which has pointed toward a solution of the glacial problem; and the time of the final change in climate has been fixed as occurring within the period covered by the

earliest dawn of ancient history. The lapse of time which followed produced the forests, the soil and mould upon the sands, and a habitable locality at Mille Lac, where the earliest footprints of man determine that he appeared there after the formation of the present alluvium, shown by the fact that the oldest artificial earthen structure at that field of observation was constructed of that material. No error therefore seems possible in determining that the mounds at Mille Lac are of a comparatively recent origin, probably within the limit of the period covered by the Christian epoch.

The interesting but complicated rules governing archæologic explorations are now applied in an endeavor to trace the earliest Mille Lac native and his descendants over the surface of the soil, into his mounds and lodge circles, and along his trails and portages, that his customs, habits and manners may be approximately understood, and his identity discovered.

Pot shards, stone and flint objects, spalls, old trails worn deep down into the surface, copper implements and ornaments, hoes, axes, hatchets, hammers and blades made of stone, and village debris, have been observed at numerous village sites along the shores of Mille Lac and neighboring waters, many of which are illustrated as the amplest proof that clay vessels, arrow points of various forms; spearheads of copper, flint, quartz and stone; scrapers, knives, hoes, spades and various useful artifacts were made and used in the Mille Laes region. The age of the various stone and copper objects, is fairly determined to be ancient, and more recent, indicated by the differing effects of weathering and decomposition, the forms being identifiable as of comparative classes. The war arrow-point shows that an appeal to arms was not uncommon in ancient feuds and battles; the grooved hammer and axe; the shouldered spud and spade of copper; the various knives and blades, all indicate the well known habits and customs which characterized North American Indian tribes during the mound building period.

The oldest appearing, flattened and weathered burial mounds contain no recognizable human remains. The well formed and symmetrically intact mound of the same size and shape shields bundled skeletons in a good state of preservation. Each of these classes of mounds were observed

in identical groups, indicating that the grouping process controlled by a death rate covered a long period of time, not dissimilar to the continued use of cemeteries of the present and past decades, except that the mound burials were generally in numbers, on the surface, after the flesh had been removed from the bones, when the barricade of earth was gathered for the mounded structural protection. Associated with the remains of the dead, in immediate contact, are occasional pot shards and stone or flint implements, exactly of the same type as similar objects recovered from the village sites, which sufficiently indicate that the people who occupied the villages also built the mounds. Long artificial embankments of earth, often grouped with other mounds, are numerous. Some of them contain remains of the dead; others appear like defensive structures; and some are grouped in the form of an inclosure or fort. Effigy or imitative mounds are very rarely found along the upper waters of the Mississippi, and, when observed, they are either grouped with other mounds or are at eminences near by. One effigy structure near Pine River appears like the form of a buffalo, one grouped with other mounds on Crow Wing River is in the form of a wolf, and two at Tascodiac Lake are in imitation of fish. Extended observations determine that the largest number of mounds discovered at Mille Lac are ordinary burial mounds. A concise description of each mound, covering hundreds of printed pages, would not disclose the identity of their origin. An examination of the contents of the mounds determines that the people who constructed them were the occupants of the ancient village sites discovered at many places along and near the shore of the lake. Those village sites have yielded to a scrutinizing search the greater portion of the archaeological implements and objects which are illustrated in this address, and all of them, with many other similar objects, are preserved intact to constitute a basis upon which to determine the identity of the people who made and used them.

It is now stated as an ascertained fact that the flint implements and pot shards recovered from explored mounds at Mille Lac, resting in contact with bundled skeletons on the original surface under the mounds explored, are identically the same in every essential particular as the flint implements and pot shards recovered from the adjacent

village sites. That ascertained fact concludes an identification of the builders of the mounds as the people who occupied the ancient settlements. Now, to perfect an identification of the ancient villagers, there is only one certain undeviating narrow and beaten path to follow: Who were first found there and what were they doing when discovered? What customs and habits and artifacts were observed as characterizing the nation of men who were originally discovered at Mille Lac? History discloses an indisputable answer.

Radisson described the Sioux as a populous nation, resident in the region west from Lake Superior in 1660. They used bows and arrows, cultivated corn and hunted the buffalo. The fact that they wore copper crescents as ornaments is distinctly stated in the first book ever written concerning the Northwest.

Du Luth visited the Sioux in July, 1679, and found the principal village at Kathio, on Mille Lac, then named Lac Buade.

Hennepin, in 1680, living at a Sioux village, found them cooking their food in earthen vessels, using stone hatchets, bows and arrows, and they appropriated his "brocade chausuble," in which they rolled up a dead man's bones, preliminary to a burial custom now known to have been usual there. The Sioux Indians furnished Hennepin with a clay pot, in which to cook his food, on his departure from Mille Lac.

Captain Carver illustrated stone implements used by the Sioux, in 1766, and described the act of transporting the bones of the dead to the mound group now known as Indian Mound Park, at Daytons Bluff, on the Mississippi.

Catlin described a Sioux chief who built a mound ten feet high over the remains of his deceased son, illustrated the mound, and described stone images made by the Sioux.

Warren states, in his history of the Ojibways, that Sioux Indians constructed an earthen inclosure on Thief River, and another near Sunrise River.

Franquelin's map charted the Sioux villages at Mille Lac, in 1688, exactly where they were observed in 1899 and 1900.

Hundreds of stone implements and pot shards have been gathered at those sites. The only island in that region where the Sioux had a

village is overspread with broken pottery. At or immediately adjoining every Sioux village site there is a mound group, and at one of them an inclosure. No evidence of any kind whatsoever, obtained at Mille Lac, surely indicates that any other ancient nation of men resided there. A series of mounds, and of village sites overspread with stone implements and pot shards, extends from Daytons Bluff to Rum River, and up that river to Mille Lac, on Hennepin's line of march in 1680; and thence down Mud River to Aitkin, and thence up the Mississippi to Itasca Lake, all of one identical character. The Sioux Indian, plausibly urged, knew no land of nativity, except his ancient home in the Northwest. The artifacts recovered and illustrated were principally found upon his historic village sites. Exactly similar objects have been found in the mounds. The best authorities agree upon the statements of fact, and a recent confirmation of them emanated from the pen of Mr. Joseph A. Wheelock, describing the burial rites of Dakota Indians at Daytons Bluff. Lynd stated that the month, the year and the century when the Sioux fixed his residence on the headwaters of the Mississippi cannot be told, and the statement is admirably correct. The conclusion is now deliberately formulated that the stone and copper implements, and the mounds at Mille Lac, are of ancient Sioux origin.

Surprising as the results are, it is compulsory that we bow to the unalterable supremacy of historic truth, and it is an unexpected privilege to interlock with it an archæologic confirmation of its correctness.

The ancient M'de Wakan people bundled the bones of their dead, placed them upon the surface of the ground at Mille Lac, and there constructed the mounds which cover them; imperishable monuments, which are a lasting record of the happening of events in that region distinguishing the lapse of time from a prehistoric era to the historic period, now first elaborated.



COPPERS, IMPLEMENTS, BEADS, ORNAMENTS, BONE NEEDLE,
POINTS, HOOKS AND PIPE.

From Rainy Lake River, Minnesota

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